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THE
LETTERS
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO
TO
SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

WITH REMARKS,
BY
WILLIAM MELMOTH, Esq.
IN FIVE VOLUMES.

*Quo fit ut omnis
Votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella
Vita senis.*———*HORAT.*

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LETTERS
OF
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO
TO
SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

BOOK TENTH.

LETTER I.

[A. U. 707.]

TO AULUS TORQUATUS.*

ALTHOUGH every one is apt, in these times of universal confusion, to regret his particular lot as singularly unfortunate, and to prefer any situation to his own, yet undoubtedly a man of patriot-senti-

* Cicero mentions him in other parts of his writings, as a man of singular merit; and one to whose generous offices he had been greatly indebted during the persecution he suffered from Clodius. In the year 701, Torquatus was advanced to the prætorship, after which nothing material occurs con-

ments can no where, in the present conjuncture, be so unhappily placed as in Rome. 'Tis true, into whatever part of the world he might be cast, he must still retain the same bitter sensibility of that ruin in which both himself and his country are involved. Nevertheless, there is something in being a spectator of those miseries with which others are only acquainted by report, that extremely enhances one's grief, as it is impossible to divert our thoughts from misfortunes which are perpetually obtruding themselves in view. Among the many other losses, therefore, which must necessarily sit heavy upon your heart, let it not be your principal concern (as I am informed it is,) that you are driven from Rome; for, notwithstanding that you are thus exceedingly uneasy at being separated from your family and fortunes, yet they still continue in their usual situations, which, as they could by no means be improved by your presence, so neither are they

cerning him, till the present letter; by which it appears, he was at this time in banishment at Athens, for having taken part with Pompey in the civil wars. He was of a very ancient and illustrious family, being descended from the brave Titus Manlius, who, in the year 394, obtained the name of *Torquatus*, from the *Torquis*, or collar, which he took from the neck of a gigantic Gaul, whom he slew in single combat. *Ad Att.* v. 1. *Cic. de Finib.* ii. 22. *Pigh. Annal.* ii. p. 411. *Liv.* vii. 10.

exposed to any particular danger. Whenever, therefore, your family are the subject of your thoughts, you should neither lament them as suffering any calamities peculiar to themselves, or consider it as a hardship that they are not exempted from those which are common to us all.

As to what concerns your own person, you ought not, my dear Torquatus, to indulge those gloomy reflections, which either fear, or despair, may suggest. It is certain that he,* from whom you have hitherto received a treatment unworthy of your illustrious character, has lately given very considerable marks of a more favourable disposition. It is equally certain, that while we are looking up to Cæsar for our preservation, he is far from being clear by what methods he may best secure his own. The event of every war is always precarious; but with regard to the present,† as I well know that you yourself never imagined you had any thing to fear, if the victory should turn on one side; so I am persuaded, should it fall on the other, you can only suffer in the general ruin. The single circumstance, then, that can give you much disquietude, is that which, in some sort, I look upon as a kind of consolation;

* Cæsar.

† The war in Spain between Cæsar and the sons of Pompey.

I mean, that the danger to which you are exposed, is no other than what threatens the whole community : and this, it must be acknowledged, is so extremely great, that whatever philosophers may pretend, I question whether any thing can effectually support us under it, except one consideration alone, a consideration which is always more or less efficacious, in proportion to the strength and firmness of a man's own mind. But, if to mean honestly, and to act rightly, be all that is necessary to constitute human happiness, it should seem a sort of impiety to call that man miserable, who is conscious of having always regulated his conduct by the best intentions. It was not, I am persuaded, any private advantage which we promised ourselves from the success of our arms, that induced us lately to abandon our fortunes, our families, and our country ; * it was the just sense of that sacred regard we owed both to the commonwealth and to our own characters. Nor when we acted thus, were we so absurdly sanguine as to flatter ourselves with the prospect of certain victory. If the event, then, has proved agreeable to what, upon our first entrance into the war, we were well aware it possibly might ; we ought, by

* Upon the first breaking out of the civil war, when Cicero and Torquatus left Italy, in order to join the army of Pompey in Greece.

no means, surely, to be as much dispirited as if the reverse of all that we expected had befallen us. Let us then, my friend, cherish those sentiments which true philosophy prescribes, by esteeming it our only concern in this life to preserve our integrity; and so long as we are void of all just reproach, let us bear the various revolutions of human affairs with calmness and moderation. The sum of what I would say, in short, is this, that virtue seems sufficient for her own support, though all things else were utterly lost. Still, however, if any hopes should yet remain to the republic, you should by no means despair, whatever its future situation may be, of holding the rank in it you deserve.

And here, my friend, it occurs to me, that there was a time when you, likewise, used to condemn my despondency; and when I was full of apprehensions, and altogether undetermined how to act, you inspired me, by your advice and example, with more spirited and vigorous resolutions. At that season, it was not our cause, but our measures, I disapproved. I thought it much too late to oppose those victorious arms, which we ourselves had long been contributing to strengthen; and I lamented that we should refer the decision of our political disputes, not to the weight of our counsels, but to the force of our swords. I do not pretend to have been inspired with a spirit of divination, when I

foretold what has since happened; I only saw the possibility and destructive consequences of such an event: and it was this that alarmed my fears; especially as it was a contingency, of all others, the most likely to take effect: for the strength of our party, I well knew, was of a kind that would little avail us in the field, as our troops were far inferior, both in force and experience, to those of our adversaries. The same spirit and resolution, then, which you recommended to me at that juncture, let me now exhort you, in my turn, to assume in the present.

I was induced to write to you upon this subject, by a conversation I lately had with your freedman, Philargyrus. In answer to the very particular inquiries I made concerning your welfare, he informed me (and I had no reason to suspect his veracity,) that you were at some seasons exceedingly dejected. This is a state of mind you should by no means encourage; for if the republic should in any degree subsist, you have no reason to doubt of recovering the rank you deserve; and should it be destroyed, your particular condition will be no worse, at least, than that of every Roman in general. As to the important affair now depending,* and for the event of which we are all of us in so much anxiety, this

* The war in Spain.

is a circumstance which you ought to bear with the greater tranquillity, as you are in a city where philosophy, that supreme guide and governess of human life, not only received her birth, but her best and noblest improvements.* But, besides this advantage, you enjoy the company likewise of Sulpicius,† that wise and favourite friend, from whose kind and prudent offices you must undoubtedly receive great consolation. And, had we all of us lately been so politic as to have followed his advice, we should have chosen rather to have submitted to the civil, than to the military power of Cæsar.‡

But I have dwelt longer, perhaps, upon this subject than was necessary; I will dispatch, therefore,

* The Athenians (among whom Torquatus, as has been observed above, at this time resided,) were supposed to have been the first who instructed mankind, not only in the refinements of poetry, oratory, and philosophy, but in manufactures, agriculture, and civil government. Athens, in short, was esteemed by the ancients to be the source, as it was unquestionably the seat, of all those useful or polite arts which most contribute to the ease and ornament of human life. *Justin.* ii. 6. *Lucret.* vi. 1. &c.

† Sulpicius was at Athens, as governor of Greece. See Vol. III. p. 189, note.

‡ This alludes to the opposition which Sulpicius made to the proposal of recalling Cæsar from his government in Gaul, just before the commencement of the civil war. See Vol. III. p. 12, note.

what is more material in fewer words. How much I owed to some of those friends, whom the fate of this cruel war has snatched from me, you perfectly well know; but I have now none remaining from whom I have received greater obligations than from yourself. I am sensible, at the same time, how little my power can at present avail; but as no man can be so totally fallen as not to be capable of effecting somewhat at least by his earnest endeavours, be assured that both you and yours have an unquestionable right to the best and most zealous of mine. Farewell.

LETTER II.

[A. U. 707.]

TO SERVIUS SULPICIUS.

MANIUS CURIUS,* a merchant of Patræ, is a person whom I have many and great reasons to value. The friendship between us has long continued; so long, indeed, as from his first appearance in the forum. He has formerly, at different junctures, and lately, during this unhappy civil war, offered me an asylum at Patræ; and I should have used

* This is the same person to whom the 25th Letter of the preceding Book is addressed. See Vol. III. p. 268, note.

his house with the same freedom as my own, if I had found occasion. But my strongest connexion with him results from a motive of a more sacred kind, as it arises from his intimacy with my friend Atticus, for whom he entertains a very singular affection and esteem. If Curius is known to you, I imagine I am paying him the tribute of my good offices somewhat too late, for I dare say his polite and elegant manners have already recommended him to your regard: however, should this prove to be the case, I very earnestly entreat you to suffer this letter to confirm and increase the favourable disposition you have conceived towards him. But if his modesty has concealed him from your notice, or you have only a slight acquaintance with him, or, for any other reason, a farther recommendation may be necessary, I most warmly and most deservedly give him mine. I will be answerable too, (as every one ought, indeed, whose offices of this kind are sincere and disinterested,) that you will experience so much politeness and probity in Curius, as to convince you that he is worthy both of my recommendation and of your friendship. In the mean time, be assured you will very sensibly oblige me, if I should find that this letter shall have had all the influence with you which I confidently expect. Farewell.

LETTER III.

[A. U. 707.]

TO AULUS TORQUATUS.

It was more in compliance with the affection of my heart, than as thinking it in the least necessary, that I detained you so long in my last.* Your fortitude wants not to be animated by any exhortations of mine; and, indeed, I am in every respect too much distressed myself, to be capable of encouraging another. But whatever reason there might or might not have been for the length of my former letter, I am sure it may well excuse me from extending my present, nothing new having since occurred: for as to the various and contradictory reports, which are every day propagated amongst us, concerning affairs in Spain, I imagine they are spread likewise into your part of the world. They will all terminate, however, in the same fatal catastrophe; a catastrophe which I no less clearly discern (and I am well assured it is equally visible to yourself,) than if it were now actually before my view. 'Tis true no one can determine what

* The first Letter of the present Book.

will be the event of the approaching battle; but as to that of the war in general, I have no manner of doubt, at least none with respect to its consequences; for one side or the other must certainly be victorious, and I am well convinced of the use that either party will make of their success; such an use, indeed, that I had rather suffer what is generally esteemed the most terrible of all evils, than live to be a spectator of so dreadful a scene. Yes, my friend, life, upon the terms on which we must then endure it, would be the completion of human misery; whereas death was never considered by any wise man as an evil, even to the happy themselves. But you are in a city where the very walls will inspire you with these, and other reflections of the same tendency, in a far more efficacious manner than I can suggest them.* I will only, therefore, assure you, (unsubstantial as the consolation is which arises from the misfortunes of others,) that you are at present in no greater danger than any of those of the same party, who have either totally renounced the war, or who are still in arms, as they are both under equal apprehensions from the victor. But there is another and far higher consolation, which I hope is *your* support, as it certainly is mine: for so long as I shall preserve my innocence, I will

* See p. 7. of this Vol. note.

never whilst I exist be anxiously disturbed at any event that may happen; and if I should cease to exist, all sensibility must cease with me.* But I am again returning to my unnecessary reflections, and, in the language of the old proverb, am “sending owls to Athens.”† To put an end to them, be assured that the welfare of yourself and family, together with the success of all your concerns, is my great and principal care, and shall continue to be so to the end of my days. Farewell.

LETTER IV.

[A. U. 707.]

TO SERVIUS SULPICIUS.

YOUR very polite and obliging letter to Atticus afforded him great satisfaction, but not more than I received from it myself: it was, indeed, equally agreeable to us both. But although we neither of us doubted that you would readily comply with any request he should make, yet your having voluntarily and unexpectedly offered him your services, was a circumstance, I must acknowledge, that raised Atticus’s admiration less than mine. As you

† See Vol. III. p. 134, note.

‡ See Vol. III. p. 138, note.

have given him the most ample assurances, therefore, of your good offices, it is unnecessary that I should desire you to add any thing to them from your regard to me. It would be no less impertinent, likewise, to send you my acknowledgments upon this occasion, as your offer was entirely the spontaneous result of your particular friendship to Atticus. This, however, I will say, that as such an uncommon proof of your esteem for a man whom I singularly love and value, could not but be highly agreeable to me, so it is an obligation I must necessarily place to my own account. And, indeed, as I may take the liberty, from the intimacy between us, to transgress the strict rules of propriety, I shall venture to do the two things which I just now declared were both improper and unnecessary. Accordingly, let me request, in the first place, that you would add as much as possible to those services, for my sake, with which you have shewn yourself willing to favour Atticus for his own; and, in the next place, desire your acceptance of my acknowledgments for those which you have already so generously promised him. And be assured, whatever good offices you shall render to Atticus, in regard to his affairs in Epirus,* or upon any

* Epirus was contiguous to Greece, and annexed to the government of that province. It is now called *Janna*, and

other occasion, will be so many obligations conferred upon myself. Farewell.

LETTER V.

[A. U. 707.]

TO THE SAME.

I HAVE long been united with Lyso, a citizen of Patræ, by ties which I deem of sacred obligation; the ties, I mean, of hospitality.* This is a sort of connexion, 'tis true, in which I am engaged, also, with many others; but I never contracted with any of my hosts so strict an intimacy. The many good offices I received from Lyso, together with the habitudes of a daily intercourse, improved our acquaintance into the highest degree of friendship; and, indeed, during the whole year he resided here, we were scarce ever separated. We neither of us doubted that my former letter would have the effect I find it has, and induce you to take his affairs under your protection in his absence: nevertheless, as he had appeared in arms in favour of our party, we were under perpetual apprehensions of his re-

is under the dominion of the Turks. A considerable part of Atticus's estate lay in this country. *Nepos. in vit. Att.* 14.

* See Vol. III. p. 5, note.

sentiment, in whom all power is now centered. But Lyso's illustrious rank, together with the zealous applications of myself, and the rest of those who have shared in his generous hospitality, have at length obtained all that we could wish, as you will perceive by the letter which Cæsar himself has written to you. I am so far, however, from thinking him in circumstances that will allow me to release you from any part of my former solicitation, that I now more strongly request you to receive him into your patronage and friendship. Whilst his fate was yet in suspense I was less forward in claiming your good offices, being cautious of giving you a trouble which possibly might prove to no purpose; but as his pardon is absolutely confirmed, I most ardently entreat your best services in his behalf: not to enumerate particulars, I recommend to you his whole family in general, but more especially his son. My old client Memmius Gemellus,* having been presented with the freedom of the city of Patræ, during his unhappy banishment, adopted this young man, according to the forms prescribed by the laws of that community; and I beseech you to support him in his right of succeeding to the estate of his adoptive father. But above

* Probably the same person to whom the 27th Letter of the 3d Book is addressed. See Vol. I. p. 297, note.

all, as I have thoroughly experienced the merit and grateful disposition of Lyso, let me conjure you to admit him into a share of your friendship. I am persuaded, if you should do so, you will hereafter look upon him with the same affection, and recommend him with as much zeal as I have expressed in the present instance. There is nothing, indeed, I more earnestly wish, than to raise in you this disposition towards him; as I fear if you should not confer upon him your best services, he will suspect, not that you are unmindful of my recommendations, but that I did not sufficiently enforce them: for he must be perfectly sensible, not only from what he has frequently heard me declare, but from your own obliging letters to me, of the singular share I enjoy in your friendship and esteem. Farewell.

LETTER VI.

[A. U. 707.]

TO THE SAME.

ASCLAPO, a physician of Patræ, is my very particular friend: to whose company, as well as skill in his profession, I have been much indebted. I had occasion to experience the latter in my own family; and had great reason to be satisfied with

his knowledge, his integrity, and his tenderness: I recommend him therefore to your favour; and entreat you to let him see, by the effects of this letter, that I did so in the strongest manner. Your compliance with this request will oblige me exceedingly. Farewell.

LETTER VII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO THE SAME.

MARCUS ÆMILIUS AVIANUS has distinguished me, from his earliest youth, with peculiar marks of affection and esteem. He is a man not only of great politeness, but probity; and, indeed, in every view of his character, is extremely amiable. If I imagined he were at Sicyon,* I should think it utterly unnecessary to add any thing farther in his behalf; being well persuaded, that the elegance and integrity of his manners would be sufficient of themselves to recommend him to the same degree of *your* affection, which he possesses, not only of mine, but of every one of his friends in general. But as I hear he still continues at Cybira, where I

* A city in the Peloponnesus, now called *Batilica*.

left him some time ago,* I most strongly recommend his affairs and family at Sicyon to your favour and protection. Among these, I must particularly single out his freedman Hammonius, as one who has a claim to my recommendation upon his own account: he has gained my good opinion, not only by his uncommon zeal and fidelity towards his patron, but by the very important services, likewise, which he has conferred upon myself: indeed, had it been to me that he had been indebted for the privilege of his freedom, he could not have acted with a more faithful and affectionate assiduity than I experienced from him in my troubles.† In the first place, then, I entreat your protection of Hammonius, as agent in the affairs of his patron; and in the next, I recommend him upon his own account, as worthy to be received into the number of your friends: believe me, you will find him of a modest, obliging temper, and well deserving a place in your affection. Farewell.

* Cybira was a city of Lycaonia, annexed to the government of Cilicia: Cicero alludes to the time when he was proconsul of that province.

† During his persecution by Clodius.

LETTER VIII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO THE SAME.

I HAVE a very great regard for Titus Manlius, a merchant of Thespiæ; not only as one from whom I have always received singular marks of consideration and esteem, but as he is an admirer also of our favourite studies. To this I must add, that my friend Varro Murena very warmly espouses his interest. And though Murena has full confidence in the effect of that letter which he has himself written to you in favour of Manlius, yet he is persuaded that my recommendation, likewise, may somewhat increase your disposition to assist him. In compliance, therefore, with my desire of serving both Murena and Manlius, I recommend the latter to you in the strongest terms: and you will greatly oblige me by promoting the interest and honours of Manlius, in every instance consistent with your own character and dignity. I will venture to assure you, likewise, from the knowledge I have of his polite and humanized disposition, that your good offices towards him will be attended with all the satisfaction you can promise yourself from the gratitude of a worthy man. Farewell.

LETTER IX.

[A. U. 707.]

TO THE SAME.

MY friend and tribe-fellow,* Lucius Cossinius, is one with whom I have long lived in great intimacy; and which his connexions with Atticus has contributed still further to improve. I enjoy the affection of his whole family, but particularly of his freed-man Anchialus, who is highly in the esteem, not only of his patron, but of all his patron's friends, in which number I have already mentioned myself. I recommend Anchialus, therefore, to your favour, with as much warmth as if he stood in the same relation to me that he does to Cossinius. You will oblige me, indeed, in a very sensible manner, by receiving him into your friendship, and giving him any assistance he may require; as far, I mean, as your own convenience will admit; and you will hereafter, I am persuaded, receive much satisfaction from your compliance with this request; as you will find Anchialus to be a man of the greatest politeness and probity. Farewell.

* The collective body of the Roman people was divided into 35 tribes: and every citizen, of whatever rank, was

LETTER X.

[A. U. 707.]

TO THE SAME.

THE pleasure I took in the reflection of having written to you in behalf of my friend and host Lyso, was much increased when I read his letter; and I particularly rejoiced in having so strongly recommended him to your esteem, when I found he had before been a sufferer in your good opinion. For my recommendation, he tells me, was of singular advantage in removing the groundless suspicion you had entertained of him, from a report that he had frequently, whilst he was at Rome, treated your character in a disrespectful manner. Let me, in the first place, then, return you those thanks which I so justly owe you, for suffering my letter to efface every remaining impression of this injurious calumny: and in the next place, although Lyso assures me, that, agreeably to your well-natu-

necessarily enrolled under one or other of these several classes. They were each distinguished by a particular name, as the *Tribus Popilia*, *Tribus Velina*, &c. which name was derived either from the place which the tribe principally inhabited, or from some distinguished family it contained. *Rosin. Antiq. Rom.*

red and generous disposition, he has entirely satisfied you of his innocence, yet I entreat you to believe me when I protest, not only in justice to my friend, but to the world in general, that I never heard any man mention you without the highest applause. As to Lyso, in particular, in all the daily conversations we had together, whilst he continued here, you were the perpetual subject of his encomiums, both as he imagined that I heard them with pleasure, and as it was a topic extremely agreeable, likewise, to himself. But though he is fully satisfied with the effects of my former letter, and I am sensible that the generous manner in which you treat him, renders all farther application perfectly unnecessary; yet I cannot forbear renewing my earnest solicitations, that you would continue your favours towards him. I would again also represent to you how well he deserves them, if I did not imagine you were, by this time, sufficiently acquainted with his merit. Farewell.

LETTER XI.

[A. U. 707.]

TO THE SAME.

HAGESARETUS of Larissa* having received considerable honours from me during my consulate, has ever since distinguished me with singular marks of gratitude and respect. I strongly recommend him, therefore, to you as my host and friend; as a man of an honest and grateful heart; as a person of principal rank in his native city; and, in short, as one who is altogether worthy of being admitted into your friendship. And I shall be exceedingly obliged to you for letting him see, that you pay regard to this my recommendation. Farewell.

* There were two cities of this name in Thessaly: a country contiguous to Greece, and which formerly made part of the kingdom of Macedonia. One of these cities was situated upon the river Peneas, and is now called Larisa, the other was a maritime town. Geographers suppose the latter to be the present *Armino*, a considerable sea port belonging to the Turks.

LETTER XII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO THE SAME.

THE connection between Lucius Mescinius and myself, results from no less powerful a tie than that of his having been formerly my quaëstor.* But, though I always considered a relation of this kind in the high regard it was viewed by our ancestors, yet the refined and elegant virtues of Mescinius† rendered it still more justly sacred. Accordingly there is no man with whom I live in a higher degree of intimacy, or from whose friendship I derive greater satisfaction. He doubts not of your disposition to serve him upon every occasion that shall comport with your honour; however, he is persuaded, that a letter from my hand will considerably strengthen your inclinations for that purpose. This he collects, not only from his own observation, but from those frequent declarations he has heard me make, of the very pleasing and

* See Vol. II. p. 288, note.

† The reader will find, by the remark referred to in the last note, how little there was of truth and sincerity in the character which Cicero here bestows upon his friend.

intimate friendship in which you and I are so strictly joined. I am to inform you, then, that his late brother, who was a merchant in Elis,* has left him his estate: and I entreat you, with all the warmth which you are sensible ought to animate me in the concerns of a friend to whom I am so strongly and closely attached, that you would assist him with your power, your influence, and your advice, in settling these his affairs in your province. In view to this, we have sent directions to his agent, that if any disputes should arise concerning the estate or effects of the testator, that they shall be guided by your sentiments, and (if it be not troubling you too much) determined by your arbitration; an office which I earnestly entreat you to undertake, and the acceptance of which I shall esteem as an honour done to myself. But if any of the claimants should be so obstinate as to refuse your award, I shall receive it as a singular obligation if you will refer their pretensions (provided you shall not think it a derogation from your dignity) to be determined in the courts at Rome; as the matter in contest is with a Roman senator. That you may the less scruple to comply with this request, I have procured a sort of recommendatory*

* A city in the Peloponnesus.

letter to you from the consul Lepidus : * I say a *recommendatory* one ; for to have desired him to write in a more authoritative style, would not, I thought, be treating your high station with the deference which is so justly due to it. I would add, that your obliging Mescinius, in this instance, will be laying out your favours to much advantage ; if I were not, on the one hand, well persuaded, that this is a circumstance of which you are already apprised ; and, on the other, were I not soliciting you as for an affair of my own. For be assured, I take an equal concern with Mescinius in every article wherein he is interested. As I am very desirous, therefore, that he may obtain his right with as little trouble as possible, so I am solicitous, likewise, that he should have reason to think, that my recommendation has greatly contributed to this end. Farewell.

LETTER XIII.

[A. U. 707.]

TO THE SAME.

THE regard you pay to my recommendations, has given me, and will hereafter give me, I dare

* He was this year appointed by Cæsar to be his colleague in the consular office. *Phut. in vit. Anton.*

say, frequent occasions of repeating my acknowledgments: however, I will attempt, if possible, to convey my thanks to you in a style as various as the several instances that demand them; and, in imitation of you lawyers,* express the same thing in different words.

I have received a letter from Hammonius, full of the strongest expressions of gratitude for the services you have rendered both to him and Avianus, in consequence of my recommendation;† and he assures me, that nothing can be more generous than the personal civilities you have shewn to himself, as well as the attention you have given to the affairs of his patron. This would afford me a very sensible pleasure, were I to consider it only as a benefit to those to whom I have the strongest attachments: as indeed Avianus has distinguished himself above all my friends by his superior sensibility of the many and great obligations I have conferred upon him: but my satisfaction still increases, when I view it as an instance of my standing so high in your esteem, as to incline you to serve my friends more efficaciously than I myself should, perhaps, were I present for that purpose.

* Sulpicius was one of the most considerable lawyers of the age. See Vol. III. p. 193, note.

† See the 7th Letter of this Book, p. 17.

Possibly the reason of your having this advantage over me, may be, that I should not yield altogether so easily to their requests, as you comply with mine; but whatever doubt I may have as to that point, I have none of your being persuaded that I entertain the sentiments of your favours they deserve; and I entreat you to believe, (what I will be answerable is the truth,) that both Avianus and Hammonius have received them with the same grateful disposition. I beseech you then, if it be not engaging you in too much trouble, that you would endeavour, that their affairs may be settled before you leave the province.

I live in a most agreeable intimacy with your son, whose genius and uncommon application, but, above all, his probity and virtue, afford me a very sensible pleasure. Farewell.

LETTER XIV.

[A. U. 707.]

TO THE SAME.

It is always with much pleasure that I apply to you in behalf of my friends; but I find a still greater in expressing my gratitude for those favours you yield to my solicitations: this, indeed, is a pleasure, with which you never fail of supplying

me; and it is incredible what acknowledgments I receive, even from persons whom I have but slightly mentioned to you. I think myself greatly indebted for these instances of your friendship; but particularly for those good offices you have conferred upon Mescinius. He informs me, that immediately upon the receipt of my letter,* you gave his agents full assurance of your services; and have since performed even more than you promised. Believe me, (and I cannot too often repeat it,) you have, by these means, laid an obligation upon me of the most acceptable kind; and it affords me so much the higher satisfaction, as I am persuaded Mescinius will give you abundant reason to rejoice in it yourself. Virtue and probity, in truth, are the prevailing qualities of his heart; as an obliging and friendly officiousness is his distinguishing characteristic. To this I must add, that he is particularly devoted to our favourite speculations: those philosophical speculations, my friend, which were always the delight, as they are now also the support and consolation of my life. Let me entreat you then to give him fresh instances of your generosity upon every occasion, wherein it shall not be inconsistent with your dignity to interpose. But there are two articles in which I will particularly

* The 12th Letter of this Book.

request it. The first is, that if those who are indebted to the estate of his testator, should insist upon being indemnified in their payments to Mescinius, that my security may be accepted; and the next is, that as the greatest part of the testator's effects are secreted by his wife, that you would assist in concerting measures for sending her to Rome. Should she be once persuaded that this method will be taken with her, we doubt not of her settling every thing to the satisfaction of Mescinius: and that it may be so, I most strongly again request the interposition of your good offices. In the mean time, I will be answerable for what I just now assured you, that the gratitude and other amiable qualities of Mescinius, will give you reason to think your favours were not ill bestowed; which I mention as a motive on his own account, to be added to those which induced you to serve him upon mine.

I am persuaded, that the Lacedæmonians doubt not of being sufficiently recommended to your justice and patronage, by their own and their ancestors' virtues; and I know you too well to question your being perfectly acquainted with the national rights and merit of every people who are connected with the republic. Accordingly, notwithstanding the great obligations I have received from the citizens of Lacedæmon, yet, when Philippus requested

me to recommend them to your protection, my answer was, that the Lacedæmonians could not possibly stand in need of an advocate with Sulpicius. The truth is, I look upon it as a circumstance of singular advantage to all the cities of Achaia* in general, that you preside over them in these turbulent times ; and I am persuaded, that you, who are so peculiarly conversant, not only in the Roman but Grecian annals, cannot but be a friend to the Lacedæmonians, for the sake of their heroic descent. I will only, therefore, entreat you, that when you are acting towards them in consequence of what your justice and honour requires, you would, at the same time, intimate, that you receive an additional pleasure from indulging your own inclinations of that sort, by knowing them to be agreeable likewise to mine : as I think myself obliged to shew this city that their concerns are part of my care, it is with much earnestness I make this request. Farewell.

* Greece.

LETTER XV.

[A. U. 708.]

TO LEPTA.*

THE moment I received your letter from the hands of Seleucus, I dispatched a note to Balbus, to enquire the purport of the law you mention.† His answer was, that such persons, as at present exercise the office of præco,‡ are expressly excluded from being decurii:§ but this prohibition extend-

* Cicero mentions a person of this name in a former letter, who appears to have been his *Præfectus Fabrum*, or what might be called, perhaps, in modern language, the commander of his train of artillery, when he was governor of Cilicia. It is probable, therefore, as Manutius conjectures, that he is the same person to whom this letter is addressed. *Vid. Epist. Fam. iii. 7.*

† Manutius very justly observes, that this could not be a law which Cæsar had actually passed, but one which he intended, perhaps, to enact, when he should return from Spain; for if it had been actually promulgated; Cicero could have had no occasion to apply to Balbus for his intelligence.

‡ The office of *præco* seems to have been much in the nature of a crier in our courts of justice, but not altogether so low in repute.

§ A decurio was, in a corporate city, the same as a se-

ed not to those who had formerly been engaged in that employment. Let not our friends, then, be discouraged. It would, indeed, have been intolerable, that a parcel of paltry fortune-tellers should be thought worthy of being admitted into the senate of Rome,* at the same time that having formerly acted as a præco should disqualify a man for being member of the council of a country corporation.

We have no news from Spain : all that we know with certainty is, that young Pompey has drawn together a very considerable army. This we learn from a letter of Paciaëcus† to Cæsar, a copy whereof Cæsar himself has transmitted to us ; in which it is affirmed, that Pompey is at the head of eleven legions.‡ Messala, in a letter he lately

nator of Rome, that is, a member of the public council of the community.

* This is a sneer upon Cæsar, who had introduced persons of the lowest rank and character into the Roman senate. See Vol. III. p. 27. note.

† He was a native of Spain, and a person of great note in that province. Cæsar entrusted him with a very considerable command in the expedition against the sons of Pompey. *Hirt. de Bell. Hisp.* 3.

‡ The number of horse and foot in a Roman legion varied in different periods of the republic. In its lowest computation it appears to have amounted to 3000 foot and

wrote to Quintus Salassus, informs him, that his brother, Publius Curtius, has been executed, by the command of Pompey, in the presence of his whole army. This man had entered, it seems, into a conspiracy with some Spaniards, by which it was agreed, in case Pompey should march into a certain village for provisions, to seize upon his person, and deliver him into the hands of Cæsar.

In relation to the security, in which you stand engaged for Pompey, you may depend upon it; as soon as Galba, who is jointly bound with you, returns hither, I shall not fail to consult with him about measures for settling that affair. He seemed, I remember, to imagine, that it might be adjusted; and you know, he is a man who spares no pains, where his money is concerned.

It gives me much pleasure to find, that you so highly approve of my * *Orator*. Whatever skill I have in the art, I have displayed it all in that treatise; and, if the commendations you bestow upon it are not too partial, I cannot but set some value

200 horse; and in its highest, to have risen to 6000 of the former, and 400 of the latter. *Rosin. Antiq. Rom.* 964.

* This elegant and judicious piece is inscribed to Brutus, and was written in answer to a question he had often proposed to Cicero, concerning the noblest and most perfect species of eloquence.

upon my judgment. To speak truth, I am willing to rest all my reputation of this kind upon the merit of that performance. I hope my little favourite, your son, already discovers some relish for writings of this sort; and although he is yet too young to enter far into these studies, yet it will be no disadvantage to him to begin thus early to form his taste by compositions of this nature.

I have been detained at Rome, on account of my daughter Tullia's lying-in. But though she is now, I hope, out of all danger, yet I still wait here in expectation of my first payment from the agents of Dolabella;* and, to tell you the truth, I am not so fond of changing the scene as formerly. The amusement I found in my country houses, together with the sweets of retirement, were wont, heretofore, to draw me frequently out of Rome. But the situation of my present house is altogether as pleasant as that of any of my villas. I am, indeed, as much retired here, as if I lived in the most unfrequented desert, and carry on my studies without the least interruption. I believe, therefore, that I

* This seems to intimate, that there had been a divorce between Dolabella and Tullia; as it was usual, in cases of that kind, for the husband to return the portion he had received from his wife, at three annual payments. See Letters 2. and 3. of Book. xi.

have a better chance of a visit from you in Rome, than you have of seeing me in the country.

I would recommend Hesiod to the agreeable little Lepta, as an author which he ought to retain by heart; and, particularly, let him always have in his mouth those noble lines :

“ High on a rugged rock, &c.*

Farewell.

LETTER XVI.

[A. U. 708.]

TO AULUS TORQUATUS.

THERE is no news to send you; and, indeed, if there were any, yet all accounts of that kind, I know, are usually transmitted to you by your own

* The passage in Hesiod, at which Cicero hints, is to the following purpose :

High on a rugged rock the gods ordain,
Majestic Virtue shall her throne maintain :
And many a thorny path her sons must press,
Ere the glad summit shall their labours bless,
There joys serene to arduous toils succeed,
And peace eternal is the victor's meed.

family. As to what may hereafter happen, though it is always difficult to determine concerning future events, yet, when they are not placed at too great a distance, one may sometimes form a tolerable guess. At present, however, all I can conjecture is, that the war is not likely to be drawn out into any great length; though, I must acknowledge, there are some who think differently. I am even inclined to believe, that there has already been an engagement: but I do not give you this as a fact, I mention it only as extremely probable. The event of war is always precarious; but, in the present instance, the number of forces is so considerable on each side, and there is such a general spirit, it is said, in both armies, of coming to action, that it will not be matter of surprise, whichever side should obtain the victory.* In the mean time, the world is every day more and more persuaded, that, al-

* This letter was probably written very early in the present year, as it was on the 17th of March that the two armies came to a general engagement. This decisive battle was fought under the walls of Munda, a city which still subsists in the province of Granada. Cæsar obtained a complete victory; but it was disputed by the Pompeians with so much courage and obstinacy, that it was long doubtful on which side the advantage would turn, or, as Florus most elegantly expresses it, "*ut plane videretur nescio quid deliberare Fortuna.*"—*Hirt. de Bel. Hisp.* 31. *Flor.* iv. 2.

though there may be some little difference in the cause of the contending parties, there will be scarce any in the consequence of their success. As to one of them, we have already, in some sort, experienced their disposition ; * and, as to the other, we are all of us sufficiently sensible how much is to be dreaded from an incensed conqueror.†

If, by what I have here said, I may seem to increase that grief which I should endeavour to alleviate, I must confess, that I know but one reflection capable of supporting us under these public misfortunes. It is a reflection, however, of sovereign efficacy, where it can be applied in its full force ; and, of which, I every day more and more experience the singular advantage. It is, indeed, the greatest consolation, under adversity, to be conscious of having always meant well, and to be persuaded, that nothing but guilt deserves to be considered as a severe evil. But, as you and I are so far from having any thing to reproach ourselves with, that we have the satisfaction to reflect, that we have ever acted upon the most patriot prin-

* The Cæsarean party.

† Young Pompey, who, if he had succeeded, would undoubtedly have acted with great severity towards Cicero, and the rest of those who had deserted the cause of his father.

ciples ; as it is not our measures, but the ill success of those measures, which the world regrets ; in a word, as we have faithfully discharged that duty we owed to our country, let us bear the event with calmness and moderation. But I pretend not to teach you how to support these our common calamities ; it is a lesson which requires much greater abilities than mine to inculcate, as well as the most singular fortitude of soul to practise. There is one point, however, in which any man is qualified to be your instructor, as it is easy to shew that you have no reason to be particularly afflicted : for, with respect to Cæsar, though he has appeared somewhat more slow in granting your pardon than was generally imagined, yet I have not the least doubt of his consenting to your restoration ; and, as to the other party,* you perfectly well know how your interest stands with them, without my telling you. Your only remaining disquietude, then, must arise from being thus long separated from your family ; and it is a circumstance, I confess, that justly merits your concern, especially as you are, by this mean, deprived of the company of those most amiable youths, your sons. But, as I observed in a former † letter, it is natural for every

* The Pompeians.

† The first Letter of this Book.

man, in these unhappy times, to look upon his own condition as, of all others, the most miserable, and to deem that place the least eligible in which it is his fortune to be situated. For my own part, indeed, I think that we, who live at Rome, are most to be lamented; not only as, in misfortunes of every kind, a spectator must be more sensibly affected than he who is acquainted with them merely by report; but, as we are more exposed to the danger of sudden violences, than those who are placed at a greater distance.

Yet, after all my endeavours to reason you out of *your* disquietudes, I cannot but acknowledge, that I am more obliged to time, than to that philosophy which I have ever cultivated, for the mitigation of my own; and how great they once were, you perfectly well know. But, in the first place, I have the consolation to reflect, that, when I was so desirous of peace as to think even a bad one preferable to a civil war, I saw farther into consequences than some of my countrymen. And, although I do not pretend to a spirit of divination, and it was chance alone that verified my predictions, yet I will own, that I take great satisfaction in the empty honour of my fruitless penetration. In the next place, I have the consolation, in common with yourself, that, should I now be called upon to lay down my life, I shall not be cut off from a commonwealth,

which I can by any means regret to leave; especially as the same blow that deprives me of my life, will deprive me likewise of all sensibility.* Besides, I am already arrived at a fulness of years; † and, as I can look back with entire satisfaction on the course I have completed, so I have nothing to fear from any violence which may be offered to me, since nature herself has now well nigh conducted my days to their final period. In a word, when I reflect upon that great man, ‡ or rather, indeed, upon those many illustrious personages who perished in this war, it would seem a want of modesty to regret submitting to the same fate, whenever I shall find it necessary. The truth is, I represent to myself all that can possibly happen to me; as, indeed, there is no calamity so severe which I do not look upon as actually impending. However, since to live in perpetual fear is a greater evil than any we can dread, I check myself in these reflections, especially as I am approaching to that state, which is not only unattended with any pain in itself, but which will put an end to all painful sensations for ever. But I have dwelt longer upon this subject, perhaps, than was necessary. How-

* See Vol. III. p. 134. note.

† Cicero was at this time in his 61st year.

‡ Pompey.

ever, if I run out my letters to an unreasonable extent, you must not impute it to impertinence, but affection.

I am sorry to hear that Sulpicius has left Athens; * as I am persuaded, that the daily company and conversation of so wise and valuable a friend, afforded you great relief, under your afflictions. But I hope you will continue to bear them as becomes you, and support yourself with your usual fortitude. In the mean time, be assured, I shall promote, with the utmost zeal and care, whatever I shall think agreeable to the interest, or inclination, either of you or yours. And, in this, I can only imitate you in your disposition to serve me, without being able to return your generous offices in the same efficacious manner. Farewell.

LETTER XVII.

[A. U. 708.]

TO CAIUS CASSIUS.

I SHOULD not send you so short a letter, if your courier had not called for it just as he was setting out. But I have still another reason; for I have

* In order, probably, to return to Rome, upon the expiration of his government.

nothing to write to you in the way of pleasantry, and serious affairs are topics, in which it is not altogether safe to engage. You will therefore wonder, perhaps, that I should be in any humour to be jocose; and, indeed, it is no very easy matter. However, it is the only expedient left to divert our uneasy thoughts. But where, then, you will probably ask, is our philosophy? Why yours, my friend, is in the kitchen,* I suppose; and, as to mine, it is much too troublesome a guest to gain admittance. The fact is, I am heartily ashamed of being a slave; and, therefore, that I may not hear the severe reproaches of Plato, I endeavour to turn my attention another way.

We have hitherto received no certain intelligence from Spain. I rejoice, upon your account, that you are absent from this displeasing scene; though I greatly regret it upon my own. But your courier presses me to dispatch; so that I can only bid you adieu, and entreat the continuance of that friendship you have ever shewn me from your earliest youth.

* This is a raillery upon the tenets of Cassius, who held the doctrines of the Epicurean sect.

LETTER XVIII.

[A. U. 708.]

TO DOLABELLA.*

I WOULD not venture to omit writing to you, by our friend Salvius, though I have nothing more to say than what you perfectly well know already, that I infinitely love you.† I have more reason, indeed, to expect a letter from you, than you can have to receive one from me, as I imagine there is nothing going forward in Rome, which you will think of importance enough to raise your curiosity, unless, perhaps, that I am to sit in judgment between two learned grammarians; our friend Nicias, and his antagonist Vidius. The latter, you must know, has produced a certain *manuscript*, relating to an account between them, to which Nicias, like a second Aristarchus,‡ very peremptorily insists,

* He was at this time with Cæsar, in Spain.

† Whatever disagreement there was between Dolabella and Tullia, it did not, in appearance at least, occasion any coolness between him and his father-in-law; a circumstance which, considering the tenderness of Cicero for his daughter, can only be accounted for by Dolabella's great credi with Cæsar.

‡ A celebrated Greek critic. See Vol. II. p. 222.

that some of the *lines* are altogether *spurious*. Now, I, like a venerable ancient critic, am to determine, whether these suspected *interpolations* are *genuine* or not. But you will question, perhaps, whether I have sufficiently forgotten the delicious mushrooms, and those noble prawns,* with which I have been so often regaled by Nicias, and his gentle spouse, to be qualified for an impartial judge in this important cause. Let me ask you, in return, whether you imagine I have so entirely thrown off all my former severity, as to retain nothing of my old solemnity of brow, even when I am sitting in grave tribunal? You may be sure, however, that my honest host shall be no great sufferer; though, let me tell you, if I should pass sentence of banishment upon him, I shall by no means allow you to reverse it, lest Bursa should be supplied with a pedagogue to teach him his letters.† But I am running on in this ludicrous style, without reflecting

* In the original it is *Culinarum*, which conveys no sense, or, at least, a very forced one: the reading, therefore, proposed by Gronovius, is adopted in the translation, who imagines the true word was *Squillarum*; for the prawn was a fish in great repute amongst the Roman epicures.

† Bursa was a particular enemy of Cicero, and had been banished for his riotous attempts to revenge the murder of Clodius, from which banishment he was lately recalled. See Vol. I. p. 278, note.

that you, who are in the midst of a campaign, may, perhaps, be too seriously engaged to relish these humorous sallies. When I shall be certain, therefore, that you are in a disposition to laugh, you shall hear farther from me. I cannot, however, forbear adding, that the people were extremely solicitous concerning the fate of Sulla,* till the news of his death was confirmed; but now that they are assured of the fact, they are no longer inquisitive how it happened, well contented with their intelligence, that he is undoubtedly defunct. As for myself, I bear this *deplorable* accident like a philosopher; my only concern is, lest it should damp the spirit of Cæsar's auctions.† Farewell.

* This man had rendered himself extremely and generally odious, by the purchases he had made of the confiscated estates, during the proscriptions both of Sylla and Cæsar. *Cic. de Offic.* ii. 8.

† In which the confiscated estates were put up to sale. One of the methods that Cæsar took to reward his partizans, was by suffering them to purchase these estates at an under-value; and it was the hopes of being a sharer in these iniquitous spoils, that furnished one of the principal incentives to the civil war. *Cic. ubi sup.*

LETTER XIX.

[A. U. 708.]

TO AULUS TORQUATUS.

I HOPE you will not imagine that you have been out of my thoughts, by my having lately been a more remiss correspondent than usual. The true occasion of my silence has partly arisen from an ill state of health, which, however, is now somewhat mended, and partly has been owing to my absence from Rome, which prevented me from being informed when any courier was dispatched to you. Be assured, that I constantly and most affectionately preserve you in my remembrance, and that your affairs, of every kind, are as much my concern, as if they were my own.

Believe me, you have no reason, considering the unhappy situation of public affairs, to be uneasy that yours still remain in a more dubious and unsettled posture than was generally hoped and imagined. For one of these three events must necessarily take place; either we shall never see an end of our civil wars, or they will one day subside, and give the republic an opportunity of recovering its vigour, or they will terminate in its utter extinction. If the sword is never to be sheathed, you can

have nothing to fear either from the party which you formerly assisted, or from that by which you have lately been received.* But should the republic again revive, either by the contending factions mutually agreeing to a cessation of arms, or by their laying them down in mere lassitude, or by one side being vanquished, you will undoubtedly be again restored both to your rank and to your fortunes. And should our constitution be totally destroyed, agreeably to what the wise Marcus Antonius† long since apprehended, when he imagi-

* Torquatus was now in Italy, having obtained the permission of returning, by means of Dolabella, with whom Cicero had employed his good offices for that purpose; as appears by several passages which Manutius has produced from the letters to Atticus. But whether Torquatus afterwards procured a full pardon from Cæsar, and was restored to his estates and honours, is uncertain; all that is farther known of him is, that he was in the army of Brutus and Cassius, at the battle of Philippi, and in the number of those whom Atticus generously assisted in their distress, after the event of that unfortunate action. *Ad Att.* xiii. 9. 20. 21. *Corn. Nep. in Vit. Att.* ii.

† This eloquent and illustrious patriot, the grandfather of Mark Antony, was consul in the year 653, and, about twelve years afterwards, was put to death, by the command of Marius, whose party he had strenuously opposed. Marius was at dinner when the executioner of his cruel orders brought him the head of Antonius, which that sangui-

ned that the present calamities were even then approaching, you will have the consolation, at least, to reflect, that a misfortune, which is common to all, cannot be lamented as peculiar to any; and miserable as this consolation must prove to a man of your patriot virtues, it is a consolation however, to which we must necessarily have recourse.

If you well consider the full force of these few hints, (and I do not think it prudent to be more explicit in a letter,) you must be convinced, without my telling you, that you have something to hope, and nothing to fear, so long as the republic shall subsist, either in its present, or any other form. But should it be entirely subverted, as I am sure you would not, if you were permitted, survive its ruin; so, I am persuaded, you will patiently submit to your fate, in the conscious satisfaction of having in no sort deserved it. But I forbear to enter farther into this subject, and will only add my request, that you would inform me how it is with you, and where you propose to fix your quarters, that I may know where a letter or a visit will find you. Farewell.

nary Roman received into his hands with all the insolent and horrid exultation of the most savage barbarian. *Plut. in Vit. Anton. App. Bel. Civil. i. 344. Val. Max. ix. 2.*

LETTER XX.

[A. U. 708.]

TO CAIUS CASSIUS.

SURELY, my friend, your couriers are a set of most unconscionable fellows. Not that they have given me any particular offence; but, as they never bring me a letter when they arrive here, is it fair they should always press me for one when they return? It would be more convenient, however, if they would give me earlier notice, and not make their demands in the very instant they are setting out. You must excuse me, therefore, (if an excuse I can want, who am so much more punctual a correspondent than yourself,) should this letter prove no longer than my last, as you may be assured of receiving an ample detail of every thing in my next. But that my present epistle may not be wholly barren of news, I must inform you, that Publius Sulla,* the father, is dead. The occasion of this accident is variously reported: some say he was a martyr to his palate, and others, that he was murdered by highwaymen. The people, however, are perfectly indifferent as to the manner, since

* See p. 46 of this Volume, note.

they are quite clear as to the fact: for certain it is, that the flames of his funeral pile have consumed him to ashes. And what though liberty herself, alas! perished with this paragon of patriots, you will bear the loss of him, I guess, with much philosophy. But Cæsar, it is thought, will be a real mourner, in the apprehension that his auctions will not now proceed so currently as usual. On the other hand, this event affords high satisfaction to Mindius Marcellus, and the essenced Attius, who rejoice exceedingly in having thus gotten quit of a formidable antagonist.

We are in great expectation of the news from Spain, having, as yet, received no certain intelligence from that quarter. Some flying reports, indeed, have been spread, that things do not go well there; but they are reports without authority.

Our friend Pansa set out for his government* on the thirtieth of December. The circumstances that attended his departure afforded a very strong proof, that "virtue is eligible upon its own account;" a truth which you have lately, it seems, begun to doubt.† The singular humanity, with which he has relieved such numbers, in these times

* Of Gaul, in which he succeeded Marcus Brutus.

† As having lately embraced the Epicurean principles. See the following letter.

of public distress, drew after him, in a very distinguished manner, the general good wishes of every honest man.

I am extremely glad to find, that you are still at Brundisium; and I much approve of your continuing there. You cannot be governed by a more judicious maxim, than to sit loose to the vain ambition of the world; and it will be a great satisfaction to all your friends to hear, that you persevere in this prudent inactivity. In the mean time, I hope you will not forget me, when you send any letters to your family; as, on my own part, whenever I hear of any person that is going to you, I shall not fail to take the opportunity of writing. Farewell.

LETTER XXI.

[A. U. 708.]

TO THE SAME.

WILL you not blush, when I remind you, that this is the third letter I have written, without having received a single line in return? However, I do not press you to be more expeditious, as I hope, and indeed insist, that you will make me amends for this delay, by the length of your next epistle. As for myself, if I had the opportunity of convey-

ing my letters as frequently as I wish, I should write to you, I believe, every hour; for, as often as I employ my pen in this manner, you seem, as it were, actually present to my view. This effect is by no means produced, let me tell you, by those subtle images which your new friends * talk so much of, who suppose, that even the ideas of imagination are excited by what the late Catius, with wondrous elegancy, has styled *spectres*. For, by this curious word,† you must know, he has expressed what Epicurus, who borrowed the notion from Democritus,‡ has called *images*. But granting that

* The Epicureans, to whose system of philosophy Cassius had lately become a convert. Accordingly, Cicero rallies him, in this and the following passages, on their absurd doctrine concerning ideas, which, they maintained, were excited by certain thin forms, or images, perpetually floating in the air. These images were supposed to be constantly emitted from all objects, and to be of so delicate and subtle a texture, as easily to penetrate through the pores of the body, and by that means render themselves visible to the mind. *Lucret. iv. 726, &c.*

† It is probable, that Catius either coined this word himself, or employed it in a new and improper manner. For it is observable, that both Lucretius and Cicero, whenever they have occasion to express, in their own language, what the Greek Epicureans called *εἰδωλα*, always render it by the word *simulachra*, or *imagines*.

‡ He was a native of Abdera, a city in Thrace, and flour-

these same *spectres* are capable of affecting the organ of vision, yet I cannot guess which way they can contrive to make their entrance into the mind. But you will solve this difficulty when we meet, and tell me by what means, whenever I shall be disposed to think of you, I may be able to call up your *spectre*; and not only yours, whose image, indeed, is already so deeply stamped upon my heart, but even that of the whole British island, for instance, if I should be inclined to make it the subject of my meditations. But more of this another time. In the mean while, I send this as an experiment to try with what temper you can bear my railleries. Should they seem to touch you, I shall renew my attack with so much the more vigour, and will apply for a writ of *restitution*, to reinstate you in your old tenets, “of which you, the said Cassius, have by force and arms* been dispossessed.” Length

rished about 400 years before the Christian æra. Epicurus, who was born about 40 years afterwards, borrowed much of his doctrine from the writings of this philosopher. *Cic. de Fin.* i. 6.

* These were the formal words of the prætor's edict, commanding the restoration of a person to an estate, of which he had been forcibly dispossessed. Cicero, perhaps, besides the humour of their general application, meant likewise archly to intimate, that Cassius had been driven out of his more rigid principles, by his military companions;

of possession, in this case, will be no plea in bar : for whether the time be more or less since you have been driven, by the allurements of pleasure, from the mansions of virtue, my action will be still maintainable. But let me not forget whom it is that I am thus bantering : Is it not that illustrious friend, whose every step, from his first entrance into the world, has been conducted by the highest honour and virtue ? If it be true, then, that you have embraced the Epicurean principles, I doubt they have more strength and solidity in them than I once imagined.

And now, will you not be inclined to ask, how I could possibly think of amusing you in this idle manner ? The truth of it is, I am not furnished with a more important subject, as I have nothing to write to you concerning public affairs ; nor, indeed, do I choose to trust my sentiments of them in a letter. Farewell.

as, in a letter written to Trebatius, when he was making a campaign with Cæsar in Gaul, where our author is rallying him upon a similar occasion, he insinuates, that he had acquired his Epicurism in the camp :—" *Indicavit mihi Pansa,*" says he, "*Epicureum te esse factum. O castra præclara !*" Epist. Fam. vii. 12.

LETTER XXII.

[A. U. 708.]

CASSIUS TO CICERO.

Nothing affords me a greater pleasure in my travels, than to converse with my friend. It brings you, indeed, so strongly to my mind, that I fancy myself indulging a vein of pleasantry with you in person. This lively impression, however, is by no means produced by those Catian *spectres* you mention: * and, for which piece of raillery, I intend to draw up in my next such a list of inelegant Stoics, as will force you to acknowledge, that Catius, in comparison with these, may well pass for a native of the refined Athens.

It gives me much satisfaction, not only upon our friend Pansa's account, but for the sake of every one of us, that he received such marks of public esteem when he set out for his government.† I hope this circumstance will be thought a convincing proof how amiable a spirit of probity and benevolence, and how odious the contrary disposi-

* See notes on the preceding letter.

† See p. 51. note.

tion, renders its possessor ; and that the world will learn from hence, that these popular honours, which are so passionately courted by bad citizens, are the sure attendants on those whose characters are the reverse. To persuade mankind, that virtue is its own reward, is a task, I fear, of too much difficulty : but that real and undisturbed pleasures necessarily flow from probity, justice, and whatever else is fair and beautiful in moral actions, is a truth, surely, of most easy admission. Epicurus himself, from whom the Catii, and the Amafinii, together with the rest of those injurious interpreters of his meaning, pretend to derive their tenets, expressly declares, that “ a pleasurable life can alone be procured by the practice of virtue.” Accordingly, Pansa, who pursues pleasure agreeably to this just notion of it, still perseveres, you see, in a virtuous conduct. The truth is, those whom your sect has stigmatized by the name of *voluptuaries*, are warm admirers of moral beauty ; and, consequently, cultivate and practise the whole train of social duties. But commend me to the judicious Sulla ; who, observing that the philosophers were divided in their opinions concerning the supreme good, left them to settle the question among themselves, whilst he turned his views to a less controverted acquisition, by purchasing every good thing that was put up to

sale.* I received the news of his death with much fortitude ; and indeed Cæsar will take care that we shall not long have occasion to regret his loss, as there are numbers of equal merit whom he can *restore* to us † in his place. Nor will Cæsar himself, I suppose, much lament this excellent customer of his, when he shall see what a worthy son he has left to succeed him.

But, to turn to public affairs ; let me know what is doing in Spain. It is a point, indeed, upon which I am extremely solicitous : as I had much rather submit to an old master, whose clemency I have experienced, than run the hazard of being exposed to the cruelty of a new one. You know the weakness of young Pompey's intellects ; that he looks upon cruelty as heroism ; and that he is sensible how much he has ever been the object of our ridicule. I fear, therefore, he would be apt to treat us somewhat roughly, and return our jokes with the point of his sword. If you have any value for me, then, you will not fail to let me know whatever shall happen. Ah, my friend, how do I wish I were

* See p. 46. note.

† This alludes to the great number of those whom Cæsar, as soon as he got the power into his hands, had permitted to return from the banishment to which they had for various crimes been condemned.

apprised whether you read this with an easy or an anxious mind! for, by that single circumstance, I should be determined what measures are proper for me to pursue. But, not to detain you any longer, I will only entreat you to continue your friendship to me, and then bid you farewell.

P. S. If Cæsar should prove victorious, you may expect to see me very soon.

LETTER XXIII.

[A. U. 708.]

TO DOLABELLA.

CAIUS SUBERINUS, a native of Calenum,* is one with whom I am particularly united; and he is extremely so, likewise, with our very intimate friend Lepta. This person, in order to avoid being engaged in our intestine commotions, attended Marcus Varro into Spain, † before the civil war broke out; imagining, as indeed every body else did, that, after the defeat of Afranius, ‡ there would be no far-

* A city of Campania, in the kingdom of Naples.

† See Vol. III. p. 113. note.

‡ He was one of Pompey's lieutenants in Spain, in the year 704, in conjunction with Varro and Petreius. Cæsar's victory over these generals has already been occasionally mentioned in the preceding notes.

ther disturbances in that province. However, he was by that very measure involved in those misfortunes he had taken so much pains to escape. For the sudden insurrection, which was formed by Scapula, and afterwards raised to so formidable an height by young Pompey, forced him, unwillingly, to take a part in that unhappy enterprize. The case of Marcus Planius, likewise, who is also in the number of Lepta's particular friends, is much the same with that of Suberinus. In compliance with my friendship, therefore, for these two persons, and in compassion to their misfortunes, I recommend them, with all possible warmth and earnestness, to your favour. But I have still another motive which engages me in their cause; Lepta interests himself no less ardently in their welfare than if his own were at stake; and I cannot but feel the next, I might have said an equal, degree of solicitude, where my friend is so anxiously concerned. Accordingly, though I have often had occasion to experience your affection, yet, believe me, I shall principally judge of its strength by your compliance with my present request. I desire, therefore, or, if you will suffer me to employ so humble a phrase, I even beseech you, to afford your protection to these unhappy men, whose distress arises rather from unavoidable fortune, than from any thing blame-worthy in their own conduct. I hope,

that, by your good offices in this affair, you will give me an opportunity of obliging, not only these my friends, but the corporation of Calenum likewise, with which I have great connexions; but, above all, that you will, by these means, put it in my power to render a grateful service also to Lep-
ta. What I am going to add, is not extremely material, I believe, to the cause I am pleading; however, it certainly can do it no prejudice. Let me assure you, then, that one of these unfortunate persons is in very low circumstances, and the other has scarcely sufficient to entitle him to be admitted into the equestrian order.* As Cæsar, therefore, has generously spared their lives, and they have little else to lose, I entreat you, by all your affection towards me, to procure them the liberty of returning into Italy. The journey indeed is long; however, they are willing to undergo it, for the sake of living and dying among their friends and countrymen. I most earnestly request, therefore, your zealous endeavours for this purpose; or rather, in-

* The estate necessary to qualify a man for being received into the equestrian order was four hundred thousand sesterces; equivalent to about 3000l. sterling. Cicero artfully mentions the slender fortunes of his friends, as an intimation to Dolabella not to expect any *douceurs* for his good offices towards them.

deed, (since I am persuaded it is entirely in your power,) I warmly entreat you to obtain for them this desirable privilege. Farewell.

LETTER XXIV.

[A. U. 708.]

TO CÆSAR.

I VERY particularly recommend to your favour the son of our worthy and common friend Præcilius; a youth, whose modest and polite behaviour, together with his singular attachment to myself, have exceedingly endeared him to me. His father, likewise, as experience has now fully convinced me, was always my most sincere well-wisher. For, to confess the truth, he was the first and most zealous of those who used both to rally and reproach me for not joining in your cause, especially after you had invited me by so many honourable overtures. But,

All unavailing proved his every art,
To shake the purpose of my stedfast heart.*

* Hom. Odyss. vii. 258.

For whilst the gallant chiefs of our party were on the other side perpetually exclaiming to me,

“ Rise thou, distinguished ’midst the sons of fame,
And fair transmit to times unborn thy name;” *
Too easy dupe of Flattery’s specious voice,
Darkling I strayed from Wisdom’s better choice. †

And fain would they still raise my spirits, while they endeavour, insensible as I now am to the charms of glory, to rekindle that passion in my heart. With this view they are ever repeating,

O let me not inglorious sink in death,
And yield, like vulgar souls, my parting breath :
In some brave effort give me to expire, .
That distant ages may the deed admire ! ‡

But I am immovable, as you see, by all their persuasions. Renouncing, therefore, the pompous heroics of Homer, I turn to the just maxims of Euripides, and say, with that poet,

Curse on the sage, who, impotently wise,
O’erlooks the paths where humbler Prudence lies.

My old friend Præcilius is a great admirer of the

* Hom. Odyss. i. 302.

† Hom. Odyss. xxiv. 314.

‡ Hom. Il. xxii.

sentiment in these lines; insisting, that a patriot may preserve a prudential regard to his own safety, and yet,

Above his peers the first in honour shine. *

But, to return from this digression; you will greatly oblige me, by extending to this young man that uncommon generosity which so peculiarly marks your character, and by suffering my recommendation to increase the number of those favours which, I am persuaded, you are disposed to confer upon him for the sake of his family.

I have not addressed you in the usual style of commendatory letters, that you might see I did not intend this as an application of common form. Farewell.

LETTER XXV.

[A. U. 708.]

TO THE SAME.

AMONGST all our young nobility, Publius Crassus† was one for whom I entertained the highest regard, and indeed he amply justified, in his more

* Hom. Il. vi. 208.

† See Vol. I. p. 141. note.

mature years, the favourable opinion I had conceived of him from his infancy. It was during his life, that his freedman Apollonius first recommended himself to my esteem. For he was zealously attached to the interest of his patron, and perfectly well qualified to assist him in those noble studies to which he was devoted. Accordingly, Crassus was extremely fond of him. But Apollonius, after the death of his patron, proved himself still more worthy of my protection and friendship, as he distinguished, with peculiar marks of respect, all who loved Crassus, or had been beloved by him. It was this that induced Apollonius to follow me into Cilicia; where, upon many occasions, I received singular advantage from his faithful and judicious services. If I mistake not, his most sincere and zealous offices were not wanting to you, likewise, in the Alexandrine war; and it is in the hope of your thinking so, that he has resolved, in concurrence with my sentiments, but chiefly, indeed, from his own, to wait upon you in Spain. I would not promise, however, to recommend him to your favour. Not that I suspected my applications would be void of weight, but I thought they would be unnecessary in behalf of a man who had served in the army under you, and whom, from your regard to the memory of Crassus, you would undoubtedly consider as a friend of your own. Besides, I

knew he could easily procure letters of this kind from many other hands. But, as he greatly values my good opinion, and as I am sensible it has some influence upon yours, I very willingly give him my testimonial. Let me assure you, then, that I know him to be a man of literature, and one who has applied himself to the polite arts from his earliest youth. For, when he was a boy, he frequently visited at my house with Diodotus the stoic; a philosopher, in my judgment, of consummate erudition. Apollonius, inflamed with zeal for the glory of your actions, is greatly desirous of recording them in Greek, and I think him very capable of the undertaking. He has an excellent genius, and has been particularly conversant in studies of the historical kind, as he is wonderfully ambitious, likewise, of doing justice to your immortal fame. These are my sincere sentiments of the man; but how far he deserves them, your own superior judgment will best determine. But though I told Apollonius, that I should not particularly recommend him to your favour, yet I cannot forbear assuring you, that every instance of your generosity towards him will extremely oblige me. Farewell.

LETTER XXVI.

[A. U. 708.]

QUINTUS CICERO TO MARCUS CICERO.*

I PROTEST to you, my dear brother, you have performed an act extremely agreeable to me, in giving Tiro his freedom; as a state of servitude was a situation far unworthy of his merit. Believe me, I felt the highest complacency, when I found, by his letter and yours, that you rather chose we should look upon him in the number of our friends, than in that of our slaves; and I both congratulate and thank you for this instance of your generosity towards him. If I receive so much satisfaction from the services of my freedman, Statius, how much more valuable must the same good qualities appear in Tiro, as they have the additional advantages of his learning, his wit, and his politeness, to recommend them? I have many powerful motives for the affection I bear you; and this mark of your beneficence to Tiro, together with your giving me part (as indeed you had reason) in the family joy upon this occasion, still increases the number. In

* The date of this letter is altogether uncertain.

a word, I saw and admired all the amiable qualities of your heart, in the letter you wrote to me on this subject.

I have promised my best services to the slaves of Sabinus; and it is a promise I will most assuredly make good. Farewell.

LETTER XXVII.

[A. U. 708.]

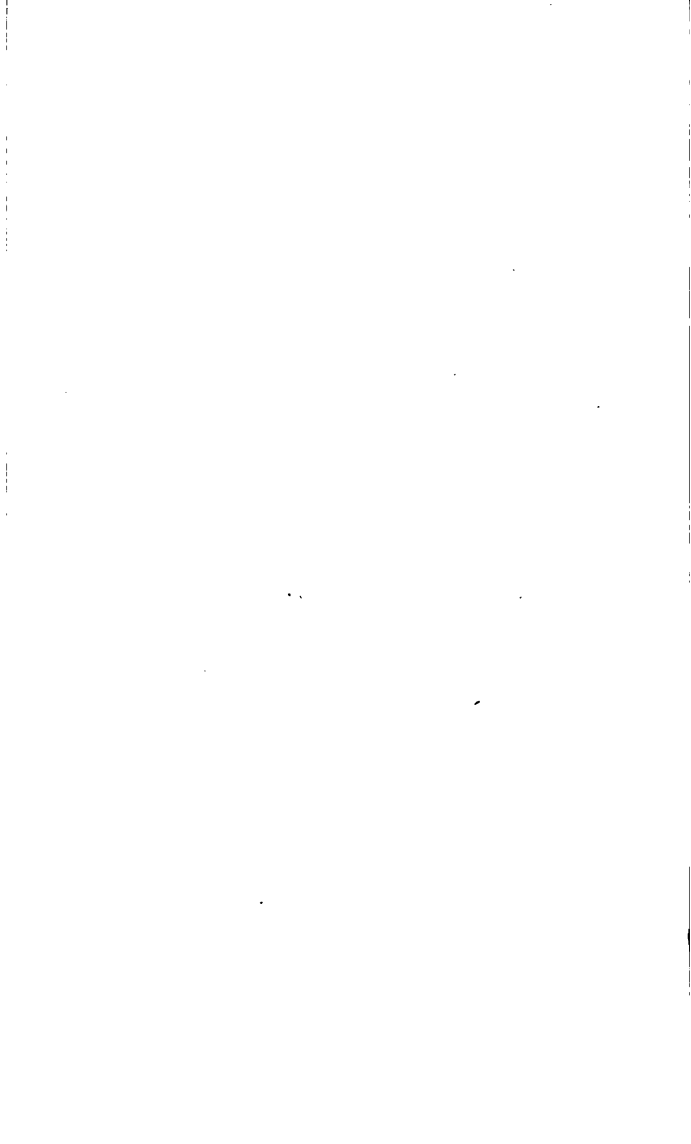
TO REX.*

LICINIUS ARISTOTELES, a native of Melita,† is not only my old host, but my very particular friend. These are circumstances, I doubt not, that will sufficiently recommend him to your favour; as, in truth, I have experienced, by many instances, that my applications of this sort have always much weight with you. Cæsar, in compliance with my solicitations, has granted him a pardon; for, I should have told you, that he was deeply engaged in the same cause with myself. He persevered in it, indeed, much longer; which, I am persuaded,

* He was at this time proprætor of Sicily. *Pigh. Annal.* ii. 459.

† The island of Malta.

will recommend him so much the more to your esteem. Let me entreat you, then, to show him, by your good offices, that this letter proved greatly to his advantage. Farewell.



LETTERS
OF
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO
TO
SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

BOOK ELEVENTH.

LETTER I.

[A. U. 708.]

TO TIRO.

YOUR letter encourages me to hope, that you find yourself better; I am sure, at least, I most sincerely wish that you may. I entreat you, therefore, to consecrate all your cares to that end; and by no means indulge so mistaken a suspicion, as that I am displeased you are not with me. With me you are, in the best sense of that expression, if you are taking care of your health; which I had much rather you should attend, than on myself. For though

I always both see and hear you with pleasure, that pleasure will be greatly increased, when I shall have the satisfaction, at the same time, to be assured, that you are perfectly well.

My work is at present suspended,* as I cannot make use of my own hand; however, I employ myself a good deal in reading. If your transcribers should be puzzled with my manuscript, I beg you would give them your assistance; as indeed there is an interlineation relating to a circumstance in Cato's behaviour, when he was only four years of age,† that I could scarce decypher myself. You

* The work to which Cicero alludes, was probably a panegyric upon Cato, which he wrote and published about this time.

† Plutarch mentions several instances in the life of Cato, wherein that consummate patriot had given very early indications of his resolute and inflexible spirit. But the most remarkable, and probably the same which Cicero had celebrated in the passage he is here speaking of, was one that happened when Cato was in the house of his uncle, Livius Drusus, who had taken upon himself the care of his education. At that time the several states of Italy, in alliance with the republic, were strenuously soliciting the privileges of Roman citizens; and Pompeius Silo, a person of great note, who came to Rome, in order to prosecute this affair, was the guest of Drusus. As Pompeius was one day amusing himself with the children of the family, "Well, young gentlemen," said he, addressing himself particularly to the

will continue your care, likewise, that the dining-room be in proper order for the reception of our guests; in which number, I dare say, I may reckon Tertia, provided Publius be not invited.

That strange fellow, Demetrius, was always, I know, the very reverse of his namesake, of Phaleris; * but I find he is now grown more insufferable than ever, and is degenerated into an arrant Bilienus.† I resign the management of him, there-

little Cato and his brother, “ I hope you will use your interest with your uncle to give his vote in our favour.” The latter very readily answered in the affirmative, while Cato signified his refusal, by fixing his eyes sternly upon Pompeidius, without saying a single word in reply. Pompeidius, snatching him up in his arms, ran with him to the window, and, in a pretended rage, threatened to throw him out, if he did not immediately yield to his request. But in vain; nature had not formed the *atrocem animum Catonis* of a texture to be menaced out of its purposes. Accordingly, Pompeidius was so struck with that early symptom of an undaunted spirit, that he could not forbear saying to some of his friends, who were present, “ How happy will it be for Italy, if this boy should live! For my part,” continued he, “ I am well persuaded, if he were now a man, we should not be able to procure a single suffrage throughout all Rome.” *Plut. in vit. Caton. Uticen.*

* Demetrius, surnamed Phalerius, from Phaleris, a seaport town in Greece, was a celebrated orator, who flourished about three centuries before the birth of Christ.

† Who this person and Demetrius were is utterly un-

fore, entirely into your hands, and you will pay your court to him accordingly. But, *however—d'ye see—and as to that—*(to present you with a few of his own elegant expletives,) if you should have any conversation with him, let me know, that it may furnish me with the subject of a letter, and at the same time afford me the pleasure of reading so much longer an one from yourself. In the mean while take care of your health, my dear Tiro, I conjure you, and be well persuaded that you cannot render me a more pleasing service. Farewell.

LETTER II.

[A. U. 708.]

TO DOLABELLA.*

OH! that the silence you so kindly regret had been occasioned by my own death, rather than by the severe loss† I have suffered; a loss I should be

known; but it is probable, that the ridiculous part of their characters, to which Cicero here alludes, was that of being very dull and inelegant orators.

* He was at this time with Cæsar in Spain.

† The death of his daughter Tullia. It appears, by a former letter, that she had lately lain-in at Rome, from whence she was probably removed, for the benefit of the

better able to support, if I had you with me ; for your judicious counsels, and singular affection towards me, would greatly contribute to alleviate its weight. This good office, indeed, I may yet, perhaps, receive ; for, as I imagine we shall soon see you here, you will find me still so deeply affected, as to have an opportunity of affording me great assistance : not that this affliction has so broken my spirit, as to render me unmindful that I am a man,

air, to her father's Tusculan villa, where she seems to have died. This letter furnishes a presumptive argument against the opinion of those, who imagine that Dolabella and Tullia were never actually divorced. For, in the first place, notwithstanding it appears that there was some distance of time between the accident of her death and the present epistle, yet it seems to have been the first letter which Cicero had written to Dolabella upon the occasion. Now, it is altogether improbable, if the marriage had subsisted, that Cicero should not have given him immediate notice of an event, in which, if not from affection, at least from interest, he would have been greatly concerned. In the next place, it is equally improbable, supposing there had been no divorce, that Cicero should speak of this misfortune only in general and distant terms, as he does throughout this whole letter, without so much as mentioning the name of Tullia, or intimating even the remotest hint of any connexion between her and Dolabella. But the following letter will supply a farther and more positive argument against the opinion above-mentioned. See p. 78. note.—*Ad Att.* xii, 45, 46.

or apprehensive that I must totally sink under its pressure; but all that cheerfulness and vivacity of temper, which you once so particularly admired, has now, alas! entirely forsaken me. My fortitude and resolution, nevertheless, (if these virtues were ever mine,) I still retain; and retain them too in the same vigour as when you left me.

As to those battles which, you tell me, you have sustained upon my account, I am far less solicitous that you should confute my detractors,* than that the world should know (as it unquestionably does) that I enjoy a place in your affection; and may you still continue to render that truth conspicuous. To this request I will add another, and entreat you to excuse me for not sending you a longer letter. I shorten it, not only as imagining we shall soon meet, but because my mind is at present by no means sufficiently composed for writing. Farewell.

* The person to whom Cicero alludes, was, in all probability, his own nephew, who was at this time in the army with Cæsar. This young man had taken great liberties with his uncle's character, aspersing it upon all occasions, and in all companies; in particular, (and what gave Cicero the greatest uneasiness,) he attempted to infuse a suspicion among the principal officers of the army, that Cicero was a man of dangerous designs, and one against whom Cæsar ought to be particularly upon his guard.—*Ad Att.* xii. 38. xiii. 37.

LETTER III.

[A. U. 708.]

SERVIUS SULPICIUS TO CICERO.

I RECEIVED the news of your daughter's death with all the concern it so justly deserves; and, indeed, I cannot but consider it as a misfortune in which I bear an equal share with yourself. If I had been near you when this fatal accident happened, I should not only have mingled my tears with yours, but assisted you with all the consolation in my power. I am sensible, at the same time, that offices of this kind afford at best but a wretched relief; for as none are qualified to perform them but those who stand near to us, by the ties either of blood or affection, such persons are generally too much afflicted themselves, to be capable of administering comfort to others. Nevertheless, I thought proper to suggest a few reflections which occurred to me upon this occasion; not as imagining they would be new to you, but believing that, in your present discomposure of mind, they might possibly have escaped your attention. Tell me, then, my friend, wherefore do you indulge this excess of sorrow? Reflect, I entreat you, in what manner fortune has dealt with every one of us; that she has

deprived us of what ought to be no less dear than our children, and overwhelmed, in one general ruin, our honours, our liberties, and our country; and, after these losses, is it possible that any other should increase our tears? Is it possible, that a mind, long exercised in calamities so truly severe, should not become totally callous and indifferent to every event? But you will tell me, perhaps, that your grief arises, not so much on your own account, as on that of Tullia. Yet, surely, you must often, as well as myself, have had occasion, in these wretched times, to reflect, that their condition by no means deserves to be regretted, whom death has gently removed from this unhappy scene. What is there, let me ask, in the present circumstances of our country, that could have rendered life greatly desirable to your daughter? What pleasing hopes, what agreeable views, what rational satisfaction, could she possibly have proposed to herself, from a more extended period? Was it in the prospect of conjugal happiness, in the society of some distinguished youth? * as if, indeed, you

* This passage seems strongly to intimate, that the marriage between Dolabella and Tullia was actually dissolved before her death. It must be acknowledged, however, that a very learned and accurate critic is of opinion, that the affirmative side of this question can no more be proved from

could have found a son-in-law amongst our present set of young men, worthy of being entrusted with the care of your daughter? Or was it in the expectation of being the joyful mother of a flourishing race, who might possess their patrimony with independence, who might gradually rise through the several dignities of the state, and exert the liberty to which they were born in the service and defence of their friends and country? But is there one amongst all these desirable privileges of which we were not deprived, before she was in a capacity of transmitting them to her descendants? Yet, after all, you may still allege, perhaps, that the loss of our children is a severe affliction; and, unquestionably it would be so, if it were not a much

these words of Sulpicius, than it can be inferred from those which he immediately adds, *an ut ea liberos ex sese pareret*, that Tullia died without issue; which it is well known she did not. But there seems to be this difference between the two instances; that, with respect to the latter, Sulpicius might, very properly, put the question he there does, notwithstanding Tullia's having left a son; for although she had *one*, she might reasonably indulge the expectation of having more; whereas, with regard to the former, would it not have been highly injurious to her character, if Sulpicius had argued from a supposition which implied that Tullia entertained thoughts of another husband, whilst her marriage with Dolabella was still subsisting? *Vid. epist. Tunstal. ad vir. erud. Con. Middleton. p. 186.*

greater to see them live to endure those indignities which their parents suffer.

I lately fell into a reflection, which, as it afforded great relief to the disquietude of my own heart, it may possibly contribute likewise to assuage the anguish of yours. In my return out of Asia, as I was sailing from Ægina towards Megara,* I amused myself with contemplating the circumjacent countries. Behind me lay Ægina, before me Megara; on my right I saw Piræus,† and on my left Corinth.‡ These cities, once so flourishing and magnificent, now presented nothing to my view but a sad spectacle of desolation. “Alas! (I said to myself) shall such a short-lived creature as man complain, when one of his species falls either by the hand of violence, or by the common course of nature; whilst in this narrow compass, so many great and glorious cities, formed for a much longer duration, thus lie extended in ruins? Remember, then, oh my heart! the general lot to which man

* Ægina, now called Engia, is an island situated in the gulf that runs between the Peloponnesus and Attica, to which it gives its name, Megara was a city near the isthmus of Corinth.

† A celebrated sea-port at a small distance from Athens, now called Port-Lion.

‡ A city in the Peloponnesus.

is born, and let that thought suppress thy unreasonable murmurs." Believe me, I found my mind greatly refreshed and comforted by these reflections. Let me advise you, in the same manner, to represent to yourself, what numbers of our illustrious countrymen have lately been cut off at once; * how much the strength of the Roman republic is impaired, and what dreadful devastation has gone forth throughout all its provinces! And can you, with the impression of these greater calamities upon your mind, be so immoderately afflicted for the loss of a single individual, a poor, little, tender, woman? who, if she had not died at this time, must, in a few fleeting years more, have inevitably undergone that common fate to which she was born. †

* In the civil wars.

† One of the finest and most elegant of all writers, either ancient or modern, has given us some reflections which arose in his mind, in walking amongst the repositories of the dead in Westminster-Abbey; which, as they are not altogether foreign to the subject of this letter, the reader, perhaps, will indulge me in the pleasure of producing, as a sort of corollaries to the sentiments of Sulpicius. "When I look upon the tombs of the great, (says the incomparable Addison,) every emotion of envy dies within me; when I read the epitaphs of the beautiful, every inordinate desire goes out; when I meet with the grief of parents, upon a tomb-

Reasonable, however, as these reflections are, I would call you from them awhile, in order to lead your thoughts to others more peculiarly suitable to your circumstances and character. Remember, then, that your daughter lived as long as life was worth possessing; that is, till liberty was no more; that she lived to see you in the illustrious offices of prætor, consul, and augur; to be married to some of the noblest youths in Rome;* to be blessed with almost every valuable enjoyment, and, at length, to expire with the republic itself. Tell me, now, what is there, in this view of her fate, that could give either her or yourself just reason to complain? In fine, do not forget that you are Cice-

stone, my heart melts with compassion; when I see the tomb of the parents themselves, I consider the vanity of grieving for those whom we must quickly follow; when I see kings lying by those who deposed them; when I consider rival wits, placed side by side, or the holy men that divided the world with their contests and disputes—I reflect with sorrow and astonishment on the little competitions, factions, and debates of mankind. When I read the several dates of the tombs, of some that died yesterday, and some six hundred years ago, I consider that great day when we shall all of us be contemporaries, and make our appearance together.”—*Spect.* Vol. I. No. 26.

* To Piso, Crassipes, and Dolabella; of each of whom an account has been occasionally given in the preceding observations.

ro ; the wise, the philosophical Cicero, who were wont to give advice to others ; nor resemble those unskilful empirics, who, at the same time that they pretend to be furnished with remedies for other men's disorders, are altogether incapable of finding a cure for their own. On the contrary, apply to your private use those judicious precepts you have administered to the public. Time necessarily weakens the strongest impressions of sorrow ; but it would be a reproach to your character not to anticipate this its certain effect, by the force of your own good sense and judgment. If the dead retain any consciousness of what is here transacted, your daughter's affection, I am sure, was such, both to you and to all her relations, that she can by no means desire you should abandon yourself to this excess of grief. Restrain it then, I conjure you, for her sake, and for the sake of the rest of your family and friends, who lament to see you thus afflicted. Restrain it too, I beseech you, for the sake of your country ; that, whenever the opportunity shall serve, it may reap the benefit of your counsels and assistance. In short, since such is our fortune, that we must necessarily submit to the present system of public affairs, suffer it not to be suspected, that it is not so much the death of your daughter, as the fate of the republic, and the success of our victors, that you deplore.

But it would be ill-manners to dwell any longer upon this subject, as I should seem to question the efficacy of your own good sense. I will only add, therefore, that as we have often seen you bear prosperity in the noblest manner, and with the highest applause, shew us, likewise, that you are not too sensible of adversity, but know how to support it with the same advantage to your character. In a word, let it not be said, that fortitude is the single virtue to which my friend is a stranger.*

As for what concerns myself, I will send you an account of the state of this province, and of what is transacting in this part of the world, as soon as I shall hear that you are sufficiently composed to receive the information. Farewell.

* Sulpicius has drawn together, in this admired letter, whatever human philosophy has of force to compose the perturbations of a mind under the disquietude of severe afflictions. But, it is evident, that all arguments of the sort here produced, tend rather to silence the clamours of sorrow, than to soften and subdue its anguish. It is a much more exalted philosophy, indeed, that must supply the effectual remedies for this purpose; to which, no other but that of Christianity alone, will be found, on the trial, to be in any rational degree sufficient.

LETTER IV.

[A. U. 708.]

TO SERVIUS SULPICIUS.

I JOIN with you, my dear Sulpicius, in wishing that you had been in Rome when this most severe calamity befel me. I am sensible of the advantage I should have received from your presence, and I had almost said your equal participation of my grief, by having found myself somewhat more composed after I had read your letter. It furnished me, indeed, with arguments extremely proper to sooth the anguish of affliction, and evidently flowed from a heart that sympathised with the sorrows it endeavoured to assuage. But, although I could not enjoy the benefit of your own good offices in person, I had the advantage, however, of your son's, who gave me a proof, by every tender assistance that could be contributed upon so melancholy an occasion, how much he imagined that he was acting agreeably to your sentiments, when he thus discovered the affection of his own. More pleasing instances of his friendship I have frequently received, but never any that were more obliging. As to those for which I am indebted to yourself, it is not only the force of your reasonings,

and the very considerable share you take in my afflictions, that have contributed to compose my mind; it is the deference, likewise, which I always pay to the authority of your sentiments. For, knowing, as I perfectly do, the superior wisdom with which you are enlightened, I should be ashamed not to support my distresses in the manner you think I ought; I will acknowledge, nevertheless, that they sometimes almost entirely overcome me; and I am scarce able to resist the force of my grief, when I reflect, that I am destitute of those consolations which attended others, whose examples I propose to my imitation. Thus Quintus Maximus* lost a son of consular rank, and distinguished by many brave and illustrious actions; Lucius Paulus† was deprived of two sons in the space of

* Quintus Fabius Maximus, so well known for his brave and judicious conduct in opposing the progress of Hannibal's arms in Italy, was five times advanced to the consular office; the last of which was in the year of Rome 545. At the expiration of his fourth consulate, he was succeeded in that office by his son, Marcus Fabius, who, likewise, distinguished himself by his military achievements. It does not appear when, or by what accident, Marcus died; but his illustrious father was so much master of his grief upon that occasion, as to pronounce a funeral eulogy in honour of his son, before a general assembly of the people.—*Liv.* xxiv. 43. *Plut. in vit. Fab.*

† A very few days before Paulus Æmilius made his pub-

a single week, and your relation Gallus,* together with Marcus Cato,† had both of them the unhappi-

lic entry into Rome, in the year 585, on occasion of his victory over Perseus, he had the misfortune to lose one of his sons; and this calamity was succeeded by another of the same kind, which befel him about as many days *after* his triumph. *Liv. xlv. 41.*

* Manutius conjectures, that the person here mentioned, is Caius Sulpicius Gallus, who was consul in the year 586.

† The censor. His son was prætor in the year of Rome 638, and died whilst he was in the administration of that office. I cannot forbear transcribing, upon this occasion, a noble passage from Cicero's treatise concerning old age, as I find it extremely well translated to my hand, by a late ingenious writer (Mr Hughes, if I mistake not) in the *Spectator*. Our author represents Cato as breaking out into the following rapture at the thoughts of his approaching dissolution: "O happy day," (says this amiable moralist) "when I shall escape from this crowd, this heap of pollution, and be admitted to that divine assembly of exalted spirits! when I shall go—to my Cato, my son; than whom a better man was never born, and whose funeral rites I myself performed; whereas he ought rather to have attended mine. Yet has not his soul deserted me, but, seeming to cast a look on me, is gone before to those habitations to which it was sensible I should follow him. And though I might appear to have borne my loss with courage, I was not unaffected with it; but I comforted myself in the assurance, that it would not be long before we should meet again, and be divorced no more."—*Pigh. Annal. ii. 99. Plut. in vit. Caton. Cic. de Senect. 23. Spect. vol. vii. No. 537.*

ness to survive their respective sons, who were endowed with the highest abilities and virtues. Yet these unfortunate parents lived in times when the honours they derived from the republic might, in some measure, alleviate the weight of their domestic misfortunes. But, as for myself, after having been stripped of those dignities you mention, and which I had acquired by the most laborious exertion of my abilities, I had one only consolation remaining; and of that I am now bereaved! I could no longer divert the disquietude of my thoughts, by employing myself in the causes of my friends, or the business of the state; for I could no longer, with any satisfaction, appear either in the forum, or the senate. In short, I justly considered myself as cut off from the benefit of all those alleviating occupations in which fortune and industry had qualified me to engage. But I considered, too, that this was a deprivation which I suffered in common with yourself and some others; and whilst I was endeavouring to reconcile my mind to a patient endurance of those ills, there was one to whose tender offices I could have recourse; and in the sweetness of whose conversation I could discharge all the cares and anxiety of my heart. But this last fatal stab to my peace, has torn open those wounds which seemed in some measure to have been tolerably healed. For I can now no longer

lose my private sorrows in the prosperity of the commonwealth, as I was wont to dispel the uneasiness I suffered upon the public account, in the happiness I received at home. Accordingly, I have equally banished myself from my house* and from the public; as finding no relief in either from the calamities I lament in both. It is this, therefore, that heightens my desire of seeing you here; as nothing can afford me a more effectual consolation than the renewal of our friendly intercourse: a happiness which I hope, and am informed indeed, that I shall shortly enjoy. Among the many reasons I have for impatiently wishing your arrival, one is, that we may previously concert together our scheme of conduct in the present conjuncture; which, however, must now be entirely accommodated to another's will. This person,† it is true, is a man of great abilities and generosity; and one, if I mistake not, who is by no means my enemy, as I am sure he is extremely your friend. Nevertheless, it requires much consideration; I do not say in what manner we shall act with respect to public affairs, but by what methods we may best

* Cicero, upon the death of his daughter, retired from his own house to one belonging to Atticus, near Rome; from which, perhaps, this letter was written.

† Cæsar.

obtain his permission to retire from them. Farewell.

LETTER V.

[A. U. 708.]

TO LUCIUS LUCCEIUS.*

ALL the letters I have received from you, upon the subject of my late misfortune, were extremely acceptable to me, as instances of the highest affection and good sense. But the great advantage I have derived from them, principally results from that animating contempt with which you look down upon human affairs, and that exemplary fortitude which arms you against all the various assaults of fortune. I esteem it the most glorious privilege of philosophy, to be thus superior to external accidents, and to depend for happiness on ourselves alone; a sentiment, which, although it was too deeply planted in my heart to be totally eradicated, has been somewhat weakened, I confess, by the violence of those repeated storms, to which I have been lately exposed. But you have

* The same to whom the twentieth letter of the first Book is written. See an account of him in a note, (Vol. I. p. 80,) on that epistle.

endeavoured, and with great success indeed, to restore it to all its usual strength and vigour. I cannot, therefore, either too often, or too strongly, assure you, that nothing could give me an higher satisfaction than your letter. But powerful as the various arguments of consolation are, which you have collected for my use, and elegantly as you have enforced them, I must acknowledge, that nothing proved more effectual than that firmness of mind which I remarked in your letters, and which I should esteem as the utmost reproach not to imitate. But, if I imitate, I must necessarily excel my guide and instructor, in this lesson of fortitude; for I am altogether unsupported by the same hopes which I find you entertain, that public affairs will improve. Those illustrations, indeed, which you draw from the gladiatorial combats,* together with the whole tendency of your reasoning in general, all concur in forbidding me to despair of the commonwealth. It would be nothing extraordinary,

* Manutius supposes, with great probability, that Lælius, in the letter to which this is an answer, had endeavoured to persuade Cicero not to despair of better times, by reminding him of what sometimes happened at the gladiatorial shows, where it was not unusual to see a combatant that seemed almost entirely vanquished, unexpectedly recover his ground, and gain the day from his antagonist.

therefore, if you should be more composed than myself, whilst you are in possession of these pleasing hopes: the only wonder is, how you can possibly entertain any. For say, my friend, what is there of our constitution that is not utterly subverted? Look round the republic, and tell me, (you who so well understand the nature of our government,) what part of it remains unbroken or unimpaired? Most unquestionably there is not one; as I would prove in detail, if I imagined my own discernment was superior to yours, or were capable, (notwithstanding all your powerful admonitions and precepts) to dwell upon so melancholy a subject, without being extremely affected. But I will bear my domestic misfortunes in the manner you assure me that I ought; and as to those of the public, I shall support them, perhaps, with greater equanimity than even my friend; for, (to repeat it again,) you are not, it seems, without some sort of hopes; whereas, for myself, I have absolutely none, and shall, therefore, in pursuance of your advice, preserve my spirits, even in the midst of despair. The pleasing recollection of those actions you recal to my remembrance, and which, indeed, I performed chiefly by your encouragement and recommendation, will greatly contribute to this end. To say the truth, I have done every thing for the service of my country that I ought, and more than

could have been expected from the courage and counsels of any man. You will pardon me, I hope, for speaking in this advantageous manner of my own conduct; but, as you advise me to alleviate my present uneasiness by a retrospect of my past actions, I will confess, that, in thus commemorating them, I find great consolation.

I shall punctually observe your admonitions, by calling off my mind, as much as possible, from every thing that may disturb its peace, and fixing it on those speculations which are at once an ornament to prosperity, and the support of adversity. For this purpose, I shall endeavour to spend as much of my time with you as our health and years will mutually permit; and, if we cannot meet so often as, I am sure, we both wish, we shall always, at least, seem present to each other by a sympathy of hearts, and an union in the same philosophical contemplations. Farewell.

LETTER VI.

[A. U. 708.]

LUCCEIUS TO CICERO.

I SHALL rejoice to hear, that you are well. As to my own health, it is much as usual, or rather, I think, somewhat worse.

I have frequently called at your door, and am much surprised to find, that you have not been in Rome since Cæsar left it. What is it that so strongly draws you from hence? If any of your usual engagements of the literary kind renders you thus enamoured of solitude, I am so far from condemning your retirement, that I think of it with pleasure. There is no sort of life, indeed, that can be more agreeable, not only in times so disturbed as the present, but even in those of the most desirable calm and serenity, especially to a mind like yours, which may have occasion for repose from its public labours, and which is always capable of producing something that will afford both pleasure to others, and honour to yourself. But if you have withdrawn from the world, in order to give a free vent to those tears, which you so immoderately indulged when you were here, I shall lament, indeed, your grief, but (if you will allow me to speak the truth) I never can excuse it. For, tell me, my friend, is it possible, that a man of your uncommon discernment should not perceive what is obvious to all mankind? Is it possible you can be ignorant, that your perpetual complaints can profit nothing, and only serve to increase those disquietudes which your good sense requires you to subdue? But, if arguments cannot prevail, entreaties perhaps may. Let me conjure you, then, by

all the regard you bear me, to dispel this gloom that hangs upon your heart; to return to that society and to those occupations which were either common to us both, or peculiar to yourself. But, though I would fain dissuade you from continuing your present way of life, yet I would by no means suffer my zeal to be troublesome. In the difficulty, therefore, of steering between these two inclinations, I will only add my request, that you would either comply with my advice, or excuse me for offering it. Farewell.

LETTER VII.

[A. U. 708.]

TO UCIUS LUCCEIUS.

EVERY part of your last letter glowed with that warmth of friendship, which, though it was by no means new to me, I could not but observe with peculiar satisfaction, I would say *pleasure*, if that were not a word to which I have now for ever bidden adieu. Not merely, however, for the cause you suspect, and for which, under the gentlest and most affectionate terms, you, in fact, very severely reproach me; but because all that ought, in reason, to assuage the anguish of so deep a wound, is absolutely no more; for whither shall I fly for consola-

tion? Is it to the bosom of my friends? But tell me (for we have generally shared the same common amities together) how few of that number are remaining? how few that have not perished by the sword, or that are not become strangely insensible? You will say, perhaps, that I might seek my relief in your society; and there, indeed, I would willingly seek it. The same habitudes and studies, a long intercourse of friendship, in short, is there any sort of bond, any single circumstance of connection wanting to unite us together! Why, then, are we such strangers to one another? For my own part, I know not: but this I know, that we have hitherto seldom met, I do not say in Rome, where the forum usually brings every body together,* but when we were near neighbours at Tusculum and Puteolæ.

I know not by what ill fate it has happened, that, at an age when I might expect to flourish in the greatest credit and dignity, I should find myself in

* The forum was a place of general resort for the whole city. It was here that the lawyers pleaded their causes; that the poets recited their works; and that funeral orations were spoken in honour of the dead. It was here, in short, every thing was going forward, that could engage the active, or amuse the idle. *Vid. Hor. lib. i. sat. 4. 74. sat. 6. 42.*

so wretched a situation, as to be ashamed that I am still in being. Despoiled, indeed, of every honour and every comfort that adorned my public life, or solaced my private, what is it that can now afford me any refuge? My books, I imagine, you will tell me: and to these, indeed, I very assiduously apply; for to what else can I possibly have recourse? Yet even these seem to exclude me from that peaceful port which I fain would reach, and reproach me, as it were, for prolonging that life which only increases my sorrows with my years. Can you wonder, then, that I absent myself from Rome, where there is nothing under my own roof to afford me any satisfaction, and where I abhor both public men and public measures, both the forum and the senate? For this reason it is, that I wear away my days in a total application to literary pursuits; not, indeed, as entertaining so vain a hope, that I may find in them a complete cure for my misfortunes, but in order to obtain, at least, some little respite from their bitter remembrance.

If those dangers, with which we were daily menaced, had not formerly prevented both you and myself from reflecting with that coolness we ought, we should never have been thus separated. Had that proved to have been the case, we should both of us have spared ourselves much uneasiness, as I should not have indulged so many groundless fears

for your health, nor you for the consequences of my grief. Let us repair, then, this unlucky mistake as well as we may; and, as nothing can be more suitable to both of us than the company of each other, I purpose to be with you in a few days. Farewell.

LETTER VIII.

[A. U. 708.]

TO MARCUS MARCELLUS.

NOTWITHSTANDING that I have nothing new to communicate to you, and am in expectation of a letter from you very shortly, or rather, indeed, of seeing you in person, yet I would not suffer Theophilus to go away, without sending you a line or two by his hands. Let me entreat you, then, to return amongst us,* as soon as possible; and, be assured, you are impatiently expected, not only by myself, and the rest of your friends, but by all Rome in general. I am sometimes, however, inclined to fear, that you will not be extremely forward to hasten your journey; and, indeed, if you were possessed of no other sense but that of seeing, I could easily excuse you, if there are some per-

* See Let. xix. Vol. III. p. 249.

sons whom you would choose to avoid. But, as the difference is very inconsiderable between hearing and being a spectator of what one disapproves, and, as I am persuaded it is of great consequence, both in respect to your private affairs, as well as upon every other consideration, that you should expedite your return, I thought it incumbent upon me to tell you so. And now, having acquainted you with my sentiments, the rest must be left to your own determination: but I should be glad to know, however, when we may expect you. Farewell.

LETTER IX.

[A. U. 702.]

TO TIRO.

BELIEVE me, my dear Tiro, I am greatly anxious for your health: however, if you persevere in the same cautious regimen which you have hitherto observed, you will soon, I trust, be well. As to my library, I beg you would put the books in order, and take a catalogue of them, when your physician shall give you his consent; for it is by his directions you must now be governed. With respect to the gardener, I leave you to adjust matters as you shall judge proper.

I think you might come to Rome on the first of

next month, in order to see the gladiatorial combats, and return the following day. But let this be entirely as is most agreeable to your own inclinations. In the mean time, if you have any affection for me, take care of your health. Farewell.

LETTER X.

[A. U. 708.]

SERVIUS SULPICIUS TO CICERO.

THE news I am going to acquaint you with will, I am sure, prove extremely unwelcome; yet, as you cannot but, in some measure, be prepared for it, by being sensible that every man's life is subject to casualties, as well as to the general laws of nature, I thought proper to send you a circumstantial account of the unhappy accident that has lately happened.

I arrived at Piræus, from Epidaurus,* on the 23d instant, where I continued all that day, merely to enjoy the company of my colleague, Marcellus.† The next day I took my leave of him, with an in-

* A city in the Peloponnesus, now called Pigrada, situated upon the bay of Engia.

† It has already been noted, that Marcellus and Sulpicius were colleagues in the consular office, A. U. 708.

tention of going from Athens into Boeotia,* in order to finish the remainder of my circuit; † and I left him in the resolution, as he told me, of sailing to Italy by the way of Malea. ‡ The day following, as I was preparing to set out from Athens, his friend Posthumius came to me, about four in the morning, and informed me, Marcellus had been stabbed the night before, by Magius Cilo, whilst they were sitting together after supper; § that he had received two wounds from a dagger, one of which was in his breast, and the other under his ear; but that neither of them, he hoped, was mortal. He added, that Magius, after having committed this barbarous action, immediately killed him-

* A district of Greece, under the jurisdiction of Sulpicius, governor of that province.

† The Roman governors were obliged to visit the principal cities of their province, in order to administer justice, and settle other affairs relating to their function.

‡ A promontory in the south-east point of the Peloponnesus, now called Cape Malis.

§ The reason which induced Cilo to murder his friend, is not certainly known. It was suspected by some at Rome, that it was at the secret instigation of Cæsar; but the circumstance of Cilo immediately afterwards killing himself, renders that suspicion altogether improbable, and seems to determine the motive to some personal, and perhaps sudden, resentment. *Vid. ad Att. xlii. 10.*

self; and that Marcellus had dispatched him, in order to give me this account, and likewise to desire that I would direct my physicians* to attend him. This I instantly did, and followed them myself as soon as it was light. But, when I had almost reached Piræus, I met a servant of Acidanus, with a note to acquaint me, that our friend expired a little before day-break. Thus did the noble Marcellus unworthily fall by the hand of a villainous assassin; and he, whose life his very enemies had spared, in reverence to his illustrious virtues, met with an executioner, at last, in his own friend! However, I proceeded to his pavilion, where I found only two of his freedmen and a few slaves; the rest, I was told, having fled, in apprehension of the consequences in which they might be involved by this murder of their master.† I was obliged to place the body of Marcellus in the same sedan that brought me, and to make my chairmen carry it into Athens, where I paid him all the funeral honours that city could supply, which, indeed, were not inconsiderable. But I could not prevail with

* The ancient physicians practised surgery as well as medicine,

† Manutius remarks, that, by the Roman law, where a man was murdered in his own house, his slaves were punishable with death. - *Vid. Tacit. Annal.* xiv. 42.

the Athenians, to suffer him to be buried within their walls; a privilege, they assured me, which their religious ordinances would by no means admit. They granted me, however, what was the next honour, and which they had never permitted to any stranger before; they allowed me to deposit his ashes in any of the Gymnasia I should think proper. Accordingly, I fixed upon a spot belonging to the Academy,* 'one of the noblest colleges in the whole world. In this place, I caused a funeral pile to be erected, and afterwards persuaded the Athenians to raise a marble monument to his memory, at the public expence. Thus have I paid to my relation and colleague, both during his life and after his death, every friendly office he had a right to expect from me. Farewell.

Athens, May 31.

* "This celebrated place took its name from one Academus, an ancient hero, who possessed it in the time of the Tyndaridæ. But, famous as it was, it was purchased afterwards for about 100l. and dedicated to the public for the convenience of walks and exercises for the citizens of Athens, and was gradually improved by the rich, who had received benefit or pleasure from it, with plantations of groves, stately porticos, and commodious apartments for the professors of the academic school." *Middleton's Life of Cicero*, iii. 325.

LETTER XI.

[A. U. 708.]

TO TIRO.

I IMPATIENTLY expect a letter from you, upon affairs of many and various kinds; but it is with much greater impatience, however, that I expect yourself. In the mean time, endeavour to gain Demetrius over to my interest, and to obtain whatever other advantage you shall be able. I know your care is not wanting to recover the money which is owing to me from Aufidius; but I beg you would be as expeditious in that matter as possible. If it is upon that account you delay your return, I admit it to be a good reason; if not, fly hither, I charge you, with the utmost speed. To repeat it once more, I expect a letter from you with great impatience. Farewell.

LETTER XII.

[A. U. 708.]

VATINIUS* TO CICERO.

If you have not renounced your usual custom of defending the cause of your friends, an old client of yours desires to engage you as his advocate; and, as you formerly protected him in his humiliation,† I dare say, you will not now abandon him in his glory. Whose aid, indeed, can I so properly invoke upon the occasion of my victories, as that generous friend's, who first taught me how to *vanquish*?‡

* I have already had occasion to give an account of the character of Vatinius in Vol. I. p. 170. note. He was, at this time, by the appointment of Cæsar, governor of Illyricum, which comprehended part of Austria, Hungary, Sclavonia, Bosnia, and Dalmatia. He was sent thither with a considerable army to reduce the people of that province to obedience; and, having obtained some success, he wrote the present letter to Cicero, in order to engage him to support his pretensions to the honour of a public thanksgiving. *Pigh. Annal.* ii. 454.

† When Cicero, much to his dishonour, defended Vatinius against the impeachment of Licinius Calvus. See Vol. I. p. 201.

‡ Alluding to his having, by the assistance of Cicero's

Can I doubt, that he, who had the courage to withstand a combination of the most powerful men in Rome, who had conspired my ruin, will not be able to beat down the envious and malignant efforts of a little contemptible party, that may endeavour to oppose my honours? If I still, then, retain the share I once enjoyed of your friendship, take me, I entreat you, wholly under your protection, as one whose dignities it is incumbent upon you both to support and advance. You are sensible, that I have many enemies, whose malevolence I have in no sort deserved. But what avails innocence against so unaccountable a fate? If these, therefore, should any of them attempt to obstruct the honours I am soliciting, I conjure you to exert your generous offices, as usual, in defence of your absent friend. In the mean time, you will find, at the bottom of this letter, a copy of the dispatches I send by this express to the senate, concerning the success of my arms.

Being informed that the slave, whom you employ as your reader, had eloped from you into the country of the Vardæi,* I have caused diligent search to be made after him, although I did not re-

eloquence, vanquished his adversaries in the prosecution mentioned in the preceding note.

* A people contiguous to Dalmatia.

ceive your commands for that purpose. I doubt not of recovering him, unless he should take refuge in Dalmatia;* and, even in that case, I do not entirely despair. Farewell, and continue to love me.

From the Camp at Naronæ,† July the 11th.

LETTER XIII.

[A. U. 708.]

TO TIRO.

You are not mistaken in supposing me desirous of your company; but, indeed, I am extremely apprehensive of your venturing upon so long a journey. The abstinence you have been obliged to observe, the evacuations you have undergone, together with the violence of your distemper itself, have too much impaired your strength for so great a fatigue; and any negligence, after disorders so severe as yours, is generally attended with consequences of the most dangerous kind. You cannot reach Cuma in less than two days, and it will cost you five more to complete your expedition. But I

* Dalmatia made part of the province of Illyricum, but it was not at this time entirely subdued to the Roman government.

† In Liburnia, now called Croatia, and which formed part of Vatinius's government.

purpose to be with you at Formia, towards the end of this month; and I hope, my dear Tiro, it will not be your fault if I should not have the satisfaction of finding you perfectly recovered.

My studies languish for want of your assistance; however, the letter you sent by Acastus has somewhat enlivened them. Pompeius is now here, and presses me much to read to him some of my compositions; but I jocosely, though at the same time truly assure him, that all my Muses are silent in your absence. I hope, therefore, you will prepare to attend them with your usual good offices. You may depend upon mine in the article, and at the time I promised; for, as I taught you the etymology of the word *fides*, be assured I shall act up to its full import. Take care, I charge you, to re-establish your health; mine is perfectly well. Adieu.

LETTER XIV.

[A. U. 708.]

TO VARRO.

To importune the execution of a promise, is a sort of ill manners, of which the populace themselves, unless they are particularly instigated for that pur-

pose, are seldom guilty.* I cannot, however, forbear, I will not say to demand, but to remind you of a favour, which you long since gave me reason to expect. To this end I have sent you four admonitors;† but admonitors, perhaps, whom you will not look upon as extremely modest. They are certain philosophers, whom I have chosen from among the disciples of the later academy;‡ and confidence, you know, is the characteristic of this sect.§ I am apprehensive, therefore, that you may consider them as so many importunate duns, when

* This alludes to those promises of public shows, which were frequently made to the people by the magistrates, and others who affected popularity; some particular instances of which have been occasionally produced in the course of the preceding notes.

† These were dialogues entitled *Academica*, which appear from hence to have originally consisted of four books, though there is only part of one now remaining.

‡ The followers of the Academic philosophy were divided into two sects, called the *old* and the *new*. The founder of the former was Plato; of the latter, Arcesilas. The principal dispute between them, seems to have related to the degree of evidence upon which human knowledge is founded; the earlier Academics maintaining, that some propositions were certain; the latter, that none were more than probable. *Vid. Academ. l. passim.*

§ Alluding to their practice of questioning all opinions, and assenting to none.

my meaning only is, that they should present themselves before you as modest petitioners. But, to drop my metaphor, I have long denied myself the satisfaction of addressing to you some of my works, in expectation of receiving a compliment of the same kind from yourself. I waited, therefore, in order to make you a return, as nearly as possible, of the same nature. But, as I am willing to impute your delaying this favour to the desire of rendering it so much the more perfect, I could no longer refrain from telling the world, in the best manner I was able, that we are united both in our affections and in our studies. With this view, I have drawn up a dialogue, which I suppose to have passed between you and myself, in conjunction with Atticus, and have laid the scene in your Cuman villa. The part I have assigned to you, is to defend (what, if I mistake not, you approve) the sentiments of Antiochus,* as I have chosen myself to maintain the principles of Philo.† You will wonder to find, per-

* A philosopher at Athens, whose lectures Varro had formerly attended. He maintained the doctrines of the *old Academy*.—*Cic. Academ.* 1. 3.

† A Greek philosopher, who professed the sceptical principles of the *new Academy*. Antiochus, mentioned in the preceding note, had been bred up under him, though he afterwards became a convert to the opposite sect. Cicero took the sceptical part in this dialogue, not as being agree-

haps, in the perusal of this piece, that I have represented a conversation which, in truth, we never had; but you must remember the privilege which dialogue writers have always assumed.

And now, my dear Varro, let me hope that we shall hereafter enjoy together many of these philosophical conversations. If we have too long neglected them, the public occupations in which we were engaged must be our apology; but the time is now arrived when we have no such excuse to plead. May we then exercise these speculations together, under a fixed and peaceable government, at least, if not under one of the most eligible kind! Though indeed, if that were to prove the case, far other employments would engage our honourable labours. But, as affairs are at present situated, what is there else that can render life desirable? For my own part, it is with difficulty I endure it, even with all the advantages of their powerful assistance; but, without them, it would be utterly insupportable. But we shall talk farther and frequently upon this subject when we meet; in the mean time, I give you joy of the new habitation

able to his own sentiments, but in order to pay Varro the greater compliment of maintaining the more rational opinion. *Academ. ubi sup. Ad Att. xiii. 19.*

you have purchased, and highly approve of your removal. Farewell.

LETTER XV.

[A. U. 708.]

TO TIRO.

Why should you not direct your letters to me with the familiar superscription which one friend generally uses to another? However, if you are unwilling to hazard the envy which this privilege may draw upon you, be it as you think proper; though, for my own part, it is a maxim which I have generally pursued with respect to myself, to treat envy with the utmost disregard.

I rejoice that you found so much benefit by your sudorific; and should the air of Tusculum be attended with the same happy effect, how infinitely will it increase my fondness for that favourite scene! If you love me, then, (and if you do not, you are undoubtedly the most successful of all dissemblers,) consecrate your whole time to the care of your health; which hitherto, indeed, your assiduous attendance upon myself has but too much prevented. You well know the rules which it is necessary you should observe for this purpose, and I need not tell you that your diet should be light,

and your exercises moderate; that you should keep your body open, and your mind amused. Be it your care, in short, to return to me perfectly recovered, and I shall ever afterwards not only love you, but Tusculum so much the more ardently.

I wish you could prevail with your neighbour to take my garden, as it will be the most effectual means of vexing that rascal Helico. This fellow, although he paid a thousand sesterces* for the rent of a piece of cold barren ground, that had not so much as a wall or a shed upon it, or was supplied with a single drop of water, has yet the assurance to laugh at the price I require for mine, notwithstanding all the money I have laid out upon improvements. But let it be your business to spirit the man into our terms, as it shall be mine to make the same artful attack upon Otho.

Let me know what you have done with respect to the fountain; though, possibly, this wet season may now have over-supplied it with water. If the weather should prove fair, I will send the dial, together with the books you desire. But how happened it, that you took none with you? Was it that you were employed in some poetical composition upon the model of your admired Sophocles? If so,

* About 8 l. of our money.

I hope you will soon oblige the world with your performance.

Ligurius, Cæsar's great favourite, is dead. He was a very worthy man, and much my friend. Let me know when I may expect you; in the mean time be careful of your health. Farewell.

LETTER XVI.

[A. U. 708.]

TO QUINTUS VALERIUS ORCA.*

I HAVE the strongest attachment to the citizens of Volaterræ,† as a body of men, who, having received great obligations from me, have abundantly returned them. Their good offices, indeed, have never been wanting in any season of my life, whether of adversity or prosperity. But were I entirely void of all personal connections with this com-

* He was prætor in the year of Rome 697, and at the expiration of his office obtained the government of Africa. Upon the breaking out of the civil war, he took possession of Sardinia in the name of Cæsar, by whom he was at this time appointed one of the commissioners for dividing those estates, with which he proposed, upon his return from Spain, to reward the valour and fidelity of his soldiers.—*Pigh. Anal.* ii. 384.

† A city in Tuscany.

munity, I should, nevertheless, merely from my great affection towards yourself, and in return to that which I am sensible you equally bear for me, most earnestly recommend them to your protection; especially as they have, in some sort, a more than common claim to your justice. For, in the first place, the gods themselves seem to have interposed in their behalf, when they so wonderfully escaped from the persecutions of Sylla;* and, in the next, the whole body of the Roman people expressed the warmest concern for their interest, when I stood forth as their advocate in my consulship. For, when the tribunes were endeavouring to carry a most iniquitous law for the distribution of the lands belonging to this city, I found it extremely easy to persuade the republic to favour the rights of a community which fortune had so remarkably protected. And as Cæsar, in the Agrarian law, which he procured during his first consulate, † shewed his approbation of the services I

* They held out a siege of two years against the troops of Sylla, who in vain endeavoured to compel them to submit to his edict for the confiscation of their lands. *Quartier.*

† The law alluded to seems to have been a branch of that proposed by Rullus; an account of which has been given in these notes. See Vol. I. p. 176. note.

had thus performed for them, by expressly exempting their lands from all future impositions, I cannot suppose that he, who is perpetually displaying new instances of his generosity, should intend to resume those which his former bounty has bestowed. As you have followed, then, his party and his power with so much honour to yourself, it should seem agreeable to your usual prudence, to follow him likewise in this instance of his generosity, or certainly, at least, to leave this matter entirely to his own decision. One thing I am sure you can by no means doubt, and that is, whether you should wish to fix so worthy and so illustrious a corporation in your interest, who are distinguished for their inviolable adherence to their friends. Thus far I have endeavoured to persuade you to take these people under your protection, for your own sake; but, that you may not imagine I have no other plea to urge in their favour, I will now request it also for mine. You cannot, in truth, confer upon me a more acceptable service, than by proving yourself the friend and guardian of their interests. I recommend, therefore, to your justice and humanity, the possessions of a city which have been hitherto preserved by the peculiar providence of the gods, as well as by the particular favour of the most distinguished personages in the whole Roman commonwealth. If it were in my power as ef-

fectually to serve those who place themselves under my patronage as it once was, there is no good office I would not exert, there is no opposition I would not encounter, in order to assist the Volaterranians. But I flatter myself I have still the same interest with you, that I formerly enjoyed with the world in general. Let me entreat you, then, by all the powerful ties of our friendship, to give these citizens reason to look upon it as a providential circumstance, that the person who is appointed to execute this commission, happens to be one with whom their constant patron has the greatest influence. Farewell.

LETTER XVII.

[A. U. 708.]

TO LEPTA.

I AM glad that Macula has acted agreeably to the good offices I have a right to expect from him, by offering me the use of his house. I always thought the man's Falernian * was well enough for road-wine, and only doubted whether he had suffi-

* This was a favourite wine among the Romans, which took its name from Falernus, a little hill in Campania, where the grape was produced.

cient room to receive my retinue ; besides, there is something in the situation of his villa that does not displease me. However, I do not give up my design upon Petrinum.* But it has too many charms to be used only as an occasional lodging ; its beauties deserve a much longer stay.

Balbus is confined with a very severe fit of the gout, and does not admit any visitors ; so that I have not been able to see him since you left Rome. However, I have talked with Oppius concerning your request, to be appointed one of the managers of Cæsar's games.† But, in my opinion, it would be most advisable not to undertake this trouble ; as you will by no means find it subservient to the point you have in view ; for Cæsar is surrounded with such a multitude of pretenders to his friendship, that he is more likely to lessen, than increase the number ; especially where a man has no higher service to recommend him, than what arises from little offices of this kind ; a circumstance, too, which Cæsar, possibly, may never be acquainted with. But if he should, he would look upon him-

* A town in Campania, where Lepta had a villa.

† These were games which Cæsar proposed to exhibit in the several quarters of Rome, upon his return from Spain, in honour of his victory over the sons of Pompey.—*Suet. in vit. Jul.*

self rather as having conferred, than received, a favour. Nevertheless, I will try if this affair can be managed in such a manner as to give you any reasonable hope that it will answer your purpose; otherwise, I think, you should be so far from desiring the employment, that you ought by all means to avoid it.

I believe I shall stay some time at Astura,* as I purpose to wait there the arrival of Cæsar.† Farewell.

LETTER XVIII.

[A. U. 708.]

TO QUINTUS VALERIUS ORCA. ‡

I AM not displeased to find, that the world is apprized of the friendship which subsists between us. But it is not, you may well imagine, from any vain ostentation of this kind, that I interrupt you in the honourable discharge of that troublesome and im-

* A town in the *Campagna di Roma*, situated near the sea-coast, between Civita Vecchia and Monte Circello, where Cicero had a villa. It was about two years after the date of this letter, that Cicero was murdered near this villa, by the order of Antony.

† From Spain.

‡ See p. 114. note.

portant commission which Cæsar has entrusted to your care. On the contrary, notwithstanding that the share I enjoy in your affection is so generally known, as to occasion many applications to me, yet I would not be tempted, by any popular motives, to break in upon you in the execution of your office. However, I could not refuse the solicitations of Curtius, as he is one with whom I have been intimately connected from his earliest youth. I took a very considerable part in the misfortunes he suffered from the unjust persecution of Sylla; and when it seemed agreeable to the general sense of the people, that my friend, together with the rest of those who, in conjunction with himself, had been deprived both of their fortunes and their country, should be restored, at least, to the latter, I assisted him, for that purpose, to the utmost of my power. Upon his return, he invested all that remained to him from this general wreck of his substance, in the purchase of an estate at Volaterræ; of which if he should be dispossessed, I know not how he will support the senatorial rank to which Cæsar has lately advanced him. It would be an extreme hardship, indeed, if he should sink in wealth, as he rises in honours; and it seems altogether inconsistent, that he should lose his estate in consequence of Cæsar's general order for the distribution of these

lands in question; at the same time, that, by his particular favour, he has gained a seat in the senate. But I will not allege all that I well might, for the equity of my friend's cause, lest, by enlarging on the justice, I should seem to derogate from the favour of your compliance with my request. I most earnestly conjure you, then, to consider this affair of Curtius as my own; to protect his interest as you would mine in the same circumstances; and to be assured, that whatever services you shall thus confer upon my friend, I shall esteem as a personal obligation to myself. Farewell.

LETTER XIX.

[A. U. 708.]

TO FABIVS GALLVS.*

INSTANCES of your friendship are perpetually meeting me wherever I turn; and I have lately, in particular, had occasion to experience them in regard to my affair with Tigellius.† I perceive by

* This is the same person to whom the 11th Letter of the first Book is addressed.

† Tigellius was an extravagant debauchee, who, by his pleasantry, his skill in music, his agreeable voice, together with his other soft and fashionable qualifications, had extremely ingratiated himself with Cæsar.

your letter, that it has occasioned you much concern, and I am greatly obliged by this proof of your affection. But let me give you a short history how the case stands. It was Cippius, I think, that formerly said, *I am not asleep for every man* ; * neither am I, my dear Gallus, so meanly complaisant as to be the humble servant of every minion. The truth of it is, I am the humble servant of none ; and am so far from being under the necessity of submitting to any servile complaisances, in order to preserve my friendship with Cæsar's favourites ; that there is not one of them, except this Tigellius, who does not treat me with greater marks of respect than I ever received, even when I was thought to enjoy the highest popularity and power. But I think myself extremely fortunate in being upon ill terms with a man who is more corrupted than his own native air,† and whose character is notorious, I suppose, to the whole world, by the poignant ver-

* Cippius was a complaisant husband, who, upon some occasions, would affect to nod, whilst his wife was awake and more agreeably employed. But a slave coming into the room, when he was in one of these obliging slumbers, and attempting to carry off a flaggon that stood upon the table, " Sirrah," says he, "*non omnibus dormio.*"

† Tigellius was a native of Sardinia, an island noted for its noxious air. See Vol. III. p. 150. note.

ses of the satiric Calvus.* But to let you see upon what slight grounds he has taken offence, I had promised, you must know, to plead the cause of his grandfather Phameas, which I undertook, however, merely in friendship to the man himself. Accordingly, Phameas called upon me, in order to tell me, that the judge had fixed a day for his trial, which happened to be the very same on which I was obliged to attend as advocate for Sextius. I acquainted him, therefore, that I could not possibly give him my assistance, at the time he mentioned; but that, if any other had been appointed, I, most assuredly, would not have failed. Phameas, nevertheless, in the conscious pride, no doubt, of having a grandson that could pipe and sing to some purpose, left me with an air that seemed to speak indignation. And now, having thus stated my case, and shewn you the injustice of this songster's complaints, may I not properly say, with the old

* Fate seems to have decreed, that Tigellius should not want a poet to deliver his character down to posterity; for, although the verses of Calvus are lost, those of Horace remain, in which Tigellius is delineated with all those inimitable strokes of ridicule which distinguish the masterly hand of that polite satirist. *Vid. Hor. Satyr. lib. i. sat. 2. and 3.*

proverb, "*So many Sardinians, so many rival rogues.*" *

I beg you would send me your Cato,† which I am extremely desirous of reading. It is, indeed, some reflection upon us both, that I have not yet enjoyed that pleasure. Farewell.

* The literal interpretation of this proverb is, "you have Sardinians to sell, each a greater rogue than the other;" but a shorter turn has been adopted in the translation, in order to bring it nearer to the conciseness of the proverbial style. This proverb took its rise (as Manutius observes) from the great number of Sardinian slaves with which the markets of Italy were overstocked, upon the reduction of that island by Titus Sempronius Gracchus, in the year of Rome 512.

† The character of Cato was, at this time, the fashionable topic of declamation at Rome; and every man that pretended to genius and eloquence, furnished the public with an invective, or panegyric, upon that illustrious Roman, as party or patriotism directed his pen. In this respect, as well as in all others, Cato's reputation seems to have been attended with every advantage, that any man, who is ambitious of a good name, can desire; for the next honour to being applauded by the worthy, is to be abused by the worthless.

LETTER XX.

[A. U. 708.]

TO CLUVIUS.*

IN the visit which, agreeably to our friendship, and that great respect with which you always treat me, I received from you, upon your setting out for Gaul, we had some general discourse relating to those estates, in that province, which are held of the city of Atella;† and I then expressed how much I was concerned for the interest of that corporation. But, in confidence of the singular affection you bear me, and in performance of a duty, which it is incumbent upon me to discharge, I thought proper to write to you more fully upon this affair, as it is, indeed, of the last importance to a community, with which I have the strongest connections. I am very sensible, at the same time, both of the occasion and extent of your commis-

* He was one of the commissioners nominated by Cæsar for settling the division of the lands, for the purposes mentioned in the note, p. 114. The department assigned to him was Cisalpine Gaul.

† A city in Campania, situated between Naples and Capua. It is now called Santo Arpino.

sion, and that Cæsar has not entrusted you, in the execution of it, with any discretionary power. I limit my request, therefore, by what, I imagine, is no less within the bounds of your authority, than, I am persuaded, it is not beyond what you would be willing to do for my sake. In the first place, then, I entreat you to believe, what is truly the fact, that the whole revenues of this corporation arise from these lands in question, and that the heavy impositions, with which they are at present burdened, have laid them under the greatest difficulties. But although, in this respect, they may seem to be in no worse condition than many other cities in Italy, yet, believe me, their case is unhappily distinguished by several calamitous circumstances peculiar to themselves. I forbear, however, to enumerate them, lest, in lamenting the miseries of my friends, I should be thought to glance at those persons whom it is, by no means, my design to offend. Indeed, if I had not conceived strong hopes, that I shall be able to prevail with Cæsar in favour of this city, there would be no occasion for my present very earnest application to you. But, as I am well persuaded, that Cæsar will have regard to the dignity of this illustrious corporation; to the zeal which they bear for his interest; and, above all, to the equity of their cause, I venture to entreat you to leave the decision of this affair en-

tirely to his own determination.* If I could produce no precedent of your having already complied with a request of this nature, it is a request which I should nevertheless have made, but I have so much the stronger hopes, that you will not refuse me in the present instance, as I am informed you have granted the same favour to the citizens of Regium.† It is true, you have some sort of connection with that city; but, in justice to your affection towards me, I cannot but hope, that, what you have yielded to your own clients, you will not deny to mine, especially as it is for these alone that I solicit you, notwithstanding so many others of my friends are in the same situation. I dare say, I need not assure you, that it is neither upon any ambitious motives that I apply to you in their behalf, nor without having just reason to be their advocate. The fact is, I have great obligations to them; and there has been no season of my life, in which they have not given me signal proofs of their affection. As you are sensible, therefore, that the interest of this corporation, with which I am so strongly connected, is greatly concerned in the success of my present request, I conjure you, by all the powerful ties of our mutual friendship,

* Caesar was not yet returned out of Spain.

† Now called Regio, a maritime city in Calabria.

and by all the sentiments of your humanity, to comply with these my intercessions in their behalf. If, after having obtained this favour, I should succeed likewise (as I have reason to hope) in my application to Cæsar, I shall consider all the advantages of that success as owing entirely to yourself. Nor shall I be less obliged to you, though I should not succeed, as you will have contributed all in your power, at least, that I might. In one word, you will, by these means, not only perform a most acceptable service to myself, but for ever attach, to the interest both of you and your family, a most illustrious and grateful city. Farewell.

LETTER XXI.

[A. U. 708.]

TO FABIVS GALLVS.

You need be in no pain about your letter. So far from having destroyed it, as you imagine, it is perfectly safe, and you may call for it whenever you please.

Your admonitions are extremely obliging, and I hope you will always continue them with the same freedom. You are apprehensive, I perceive, that, if I should render this Tigellius my enemy, he may, probably, make me merrier than I like, and teach

me the *Sardinian* laugh.* In return to your proverb, let me present you with another, and advise you to "*throw aside the pencil.*" † For our master ‡ will be here much sooner than was expected; and

* It is said, there was a sea-weed frequently found upon the coasts of Sardinia, the poisonous quality whereof occasioned a convulsive motion in the features, which had the appearance of laughter; and that hence the Sardinian laugh became a proverb, usually applied to those who concealed a heavy heart under a gay countenance. Gallus seems to have cited this proverb, as a caution to Cicero not to be too free in his railleries upon Tigellius; and there is a peculiar propriety in his application of it, as Tigellius was a Sardinian. I must acknowledge, however, that I have departed from the sentiments of the commentators, in supposing, that Tigellius is the person here alluded to; they all imagine, on the contrary, that it is Cæsar. But this letter seems evidently to be upon the same subject as the 19th of this Book, and was, probably, an answer to one which Gallus had written in return to that epistle.

† This proverb, Victorius supposes, had its rise from the schools of the painters, where the young pupils, who, in the absence of their master, were amusing themselves, perhaps, in drawing their pencils over the piece on which he was at work, called upon each other, when they saw him returning, to lay them aside. Cicero, in the application of this proverb, alludes to the panegyric which Gallus had written upon Cato. See p. 124, note.

‡ Cæsar, who was at this time upon his return from Spain.

I am afraid he should send the man, who ventures to paint Cato in such favourable colours, to join the hero of his panegyric in the shades below.

Nothing, my dear Gallus, can be expressed with greater strength and elegance, than that part of your letter which begins, "*The rest are fallen,*" &c. But I whisper this applause in your ear, and desire it may be a secret, even to your freedman Apella. Nobody, indeed, writes in this manner, except ourselves. How far it is to be defended or not, I may consider, perhaps, another time; but this, at least, is indisputable, that it is a style entirely our own. Persevere, then, in these compositions. as the best and surest method of forming your eloquence. As for myself, I now employ some part even of my nights in exercises of the same kind. Farewell.

LETTER XXII.

[A. U. 708.]

TO MARCUS RUTILIUS.*

In the consciousness of that affection I bear you, and from the proofs I have experienced of yours, I

* He was employed in a commission of the same kind with that of Orca and Cluvius, to whom the 16th and 20th letters of this Book are addressed.

do not scruple to ask a favour, which a principle of gratitude obliges me to request. To what degree I value Publius Sextius,* is, a circumstance with which my own heart is best acquainted; but how greatly I ought to do so, both you and all the world are perfectly well apprised. As he has been informed, by some of his friends, that you are, upon all occasions, extremely well disposed to oblige me, he has desired I would write to you, in the strongest terms, in behalf of Caius Albinus, a person of senatorian rank. Publius Sextius married his daughter; and he has a son by her, who is a youth of great merit. I mention these circumstances to let you see, that Sextius has no less reason to be concerned for the interest of Albinus, than I have for that of Sextius. But, to come to the point.

Marcus Laberius purchased, under an edict of Cæsar, the confiscated estate of Plotius, which he afterwards assigned over to Albinus, in satisfaction of a debt. If I were to say, that it is not for the credit of the government to include this estate among those lands which are directed to be divided, I might seem to talk rather in the style of a man who is dictating, than of one who is making a request. But, as Cæsar thought it necessary to ratify the sales and mortgages that had been

* See Vol. I. p. 173, note.

made of those estates, which were confiscated during Sylla's administration, in order to render his own purchasers of the same kind so much the more secure ; if these forfeited lands, which were put up to auction by his particular order, should be included in the general division he is now making, will it not discourage all future bidders ? I only hint this, however, for your own judicious consideration. In the mean time, I most earnestly entreat you not to dispossess Albinus of the farms, which Laberius has thus conveyed to him ; and be assured, as nothing can be more equitable than this request, so I make it in all the warmth and sincerity of my heart. It will afford me, indeed, not only much satisfaction ; but, in some sort, likewise, great honour, if Sextius, to whose friendship I am so deeply indebted, should have an opportunity, through my means, of serving a man, to whom he is thus nearly related. Again and again, therefore, I entreat your compliance ; and, as there is no instance wherein you can more effectually oblige me, so you may depend upon finding me infinitely sensible of the obligation. Farewell.

LETTER XXIII.

[A. U. 708.]

TO VATINIUS.

I AM by no means surprised to find, that you are sensible of my services.* On the contrary, I perfectly well knew, and have, upon all occasions, declared, that no man ever possessed so grateful a heart. You have, indeed, not only acknowledged, but abundantly returned, my good offices; be assured, therefore, you will always experience, in me, the same friendly zeal in every other article of your concerns. Accordingly, after having received your last letter, wherein you recommend that excellent woman, your wife, to my protection,† I im-

* The services, here alluded to, are probably those which Vatinius solicited in the 12th Letter of this Book. Cicero's answer to that letter is lost, as well as Vatinius's reply; but the present epistle seems to have been written in return to the latter.

† If Vatinius was not a more tender husband, than he appears to have been a son, this lady might have had occasion for Cicero's protection, in some instances, which she would not, perhaps, have been very willing to own; for, among other enormities that are laid to the charge of Vatinius, it is said, that he had the cruelty, as well as the im-

mediately desired our friend Sura to acquaint her, that if, in any instance, she had occasion for my services, I hoped she would let me know; and that she might depend upon my executing her requests with the utmost warmth and fidelity. This promise I shall very punctually fulfil; and, if it should prove necessary, I will wait upon her myself. In the mean time, I beg you would inform her, by your own hand, that I shall not look upon any office as difficult, or below my character, wherein my assistance can avail her; as, indeed, there is no employment in which I could be engaged upon your account, that I should not think both easy and honourable.*

piety, to lay violent hands on his mother. *Orat. in Vatini.*
7.

* Who would imagine, that this is the same person, of whom Cicero has elsewhere said, that "no one could look upon him without a sigh, or speak of him without execration; that he was the dread of his neighbours, the disgrace of his kindred, and the utter abhorrence of the public in general?" Indeed, when Cicero gave this character of Vatinius, he was acting as an advocate at the bar, and endeavouring to destroy his credit as a witness against his friend and client. But whatever allowances may be made, in general, for rhetorical exaggerations, yet history shews, that, in the present instance, Cicero's eloquence did not transgress the limits of truth; for Paterculus has painted the character of Vatinius in the same disadvantageous colours,

I entreat you to settle the affair with Dionysius; and any assurance that you shall think proper to give him, in my name, I will religiously perform. But, if he should continue obstinate, you must e'en seize him as a prisoner of war, to grace your triumphal entry.

May a thousand curses fall upon these Dalmatians for giving you so much trouble! However, I join with you, in being well persuaded, that you will soon reduce them to obedience; and, as they have always been esteemed a warlike people, their submission will greatly contribute to the glory of your arms. Farewell.

LETTER XXIV.

[A. U. 708.]

TO CORNIFICIUS.*

IT was with great satisfaction I found, by your letter, that you allow me a place in your thoughts;

and represented him as the lowest and most worthless of men. *Orat. in Vatn.* 16. *Vol. Paterc.* ii. 69.

* Quintus Cornificius, in the year 705, obtained the pro-consulship of Illyricum. In the following year, he was removed from thence into some other province, the name of which is unknown; but it appears to have been contiguous to Syria. In this province he resided when the present

and it is by no means as doubting the constancy of your friendship, but merely in compliance with a customary form, that I entreat you to preserve me still in your remembrance.

It is reported, that some commotions have arisen in Syria; at which I am more alarmed upon your account than our own, as you are placed so much nearer to the consequences. As to affairs at Rome, we are enjoying that sort of repose, which, I am sure, you would be better pleased to hear was interrupted by some vigorous measures for the public welfare; and I hope it shortly will, as I find it is Cæsar's intention to concert methods for that purpose.

Your absence has inspired me with the courage of engaging in some compositions, which otherwise I should scarce have ventured to undertake, though there are some among them, which even my judicious friend, perhaps, would not disapprove. The

and twenty-sixth letter of this Book were written to him. He was afterwards appointed governor of Africa; as appears by several letters addressed to him in the next Book, and which will afford a farther occasion of speaking of him. He had greatly distinguished himself in the art of eloquence, and is supposed to have been the author of those rhetorical pieces which are mentioned by Quintilian, as written by a person of this name. *Pigh. Annal.* ii. 446. 454. 466. *Quint.* iii. 1,

last that I have finished is upon a subject, on which I have frequently had occasion to think that your notions were not altogether agreeable to mine; it is an enquiry into the best species of eloquence: * though I must add, that whenever you have differed from me, it was always with the complaisance of a master-artist towards one who is not wholly unskilled in his art. I should be extremely glad, that this piece might receive your suffrage; if not for its own sake, at least for its author's. To this end, I shall let your family know, that, if they think proper, they may have it transcribed, in order to send it to you. I imagine, indeed, although you should not approve my sentiments, yet that any thing, which comes from my hand, will be acceptable in your present inactive situation.

When you recommend your character and honours to my protection, it is merely, I dare say, for the sake of form, and not as thinking it in the least necessary. Be assured, the affection which, I am persuaded, mutually subsists between us, would be sufficient to render me greatly zealous in your service. But, abstractedly from all motives of friendship, were I to consider only the noble purposes to

* This is, probably, the same piece, of which an account has been given, p. 34, note.

which you have applied your exalted talents, and the great probability of your attaining the highest dignity in the commonwealth,* there is no man to whom I should give the preference in my good offices, and few that I should place in the same rank with yourself. Farewell.

LETTER XXV.

[A. U. 708.]

CURIUS† TO CICERO.

I LOOK upon myself as a sort of property, the possession of which belongs, it is true, to Atticus; but all the advantage that can be derived from it is wholly yours. If Atticus, therefore, were inclined to dispose of his right in me, I am afraid he could only pass me off in a lot with some more profitable commodity; whereas, if you should have the same inclination, how greatly would it enhance my value to be proclaimed as one entirely formed into what he is, by your care and kindness? I entreat you, then, to continue to protect the work of your own hands, and to recommend me, in the strongest terms, to the successor of Sulpicius in this

* The consular office.

† See Vol. III. p. 268, note.

province.* This will be the surest means of putting it in my power to obey your commands of returning to you in the spring; as it will facilitate the settling of my affairs in such a manner, that I may be able, by that time, to transport my effects, with safety, into Italy. But I hope, my illustrious friend, you will not communicate this letter to Atticus; for as he imagines I am much too honest a fellow to pay the same compliment to you both, suffer him, I beseech you, to remain in this favourable error. Adieu, my dear patron, and salute Tiro in my name.

October the 29th.

LETTER XXVI.

[A. U. 708.]

TO CORNIFICIUS.

I SHALL follow the same method in answering your letter, which I have observed that you great orators sometimes practise in your replies, and begin with the last article first. You accuse me, then, of being a negligent correspondent; but, believe me, I never have once omitted writing, whenever any of

* Greece.

your family gave me notice, that a courier was setting out to you.

I have so high an opinion of your prudence, that I expected you would act in the manner your very obliging letter assures me you intend, and that you would not determine your measures till you should know where this paltry Bassus* designed to make an irruption. I entreat you to continue to give me frequent intelligence of all your purposes and motions, as well as of whatever else is going forward in your part of the world.

It was with much regret that I parted with you when you left Italy; but I comforted myself in the persuasion, that you were not only going into a scene of profound tranquillity, but leaving one that was threatened with great commotions. The reverse, however, has proved to be the fact, and war has broken out in your quarters at the same time that it is extinguished in ours. But the peace we enjoy is attended, nevertheless, with many disgusting circumstances, and disgusting too even to Cæsar himself. It is the certain consequence, indeed, of all civil wars, that the vanquished must not only

* Cæcilius Bassus was a Roman knight of the Pompeian party, who, after the battle of Pharsalia, fled into Syria; where he was, at this time, raising some very formidable commotions against the authority of Cæsar. *Dio.* xlvii. p. 342.

submit to the will of the victor, but to the will of those also who assisted him in his conquest. But I am now become so totally callous, that I saw Bursa,* the other day, at the games which Cæsar exhibited, without the least emotion; and was present, with equal patience, at the farces of Publius and Laberius.† In short, I am sensible of nothing so much as of the want of a judicious friend, with whom I may freely laugh at what is thus passing amongst us. And such a friend I shall find in you, if you will hasten your return hither; a circumstance which I look upon to be as much your own interest, as I am sure it is mine. Farewell.

* Cicero's inveterate enemy, who had been banished some years before, but had lately been recalled by Cæsar. See Vol. I. p. 278. note.

† For an account of Laberius, see Vol. I. p. 238. note. Publius Syrus had likewise distinguished himself upon the Roman stage in those buffoon pieces which they called their *mimes*. But, although these rival poets and actors were both of them excellent in their way; yet, it appears, that their humour was too low and inelegant to suit the just and refined taste of Cicero.—*Macrob. Saturn.* ii. 7.

LETTER XXVII.

[A. U. 708.]

TO DOLABELLA.

I REJOICE to find that Baïæ* has changed its nature, and is become, on a sudden, so wondrous *salutary*.† But, perhaps, it is only in complaisance to my friend, that it thus suspends its usual effects, and will resume its wonted qualities the moment you depart. I shall not be surprised should this prove to be the case; nor wonder, indeed, if heaven and earth should alter their general tendencies, for the sake of a man who has so much to recommend him to the favour of both. ‡

* See Vol. III. p. 137. note.

† Dolabella had probably informed Cicero, in a letter from Baïæ, of the *salutary* effects he experienced from the waters of that place; in answer to which, Cicero plays upon the ambiguous meaning of the word *salubres*, and applies, in a moral sense, what Dolabella had used in a medicinal.

‡ If no other memoirs of these times remained than what might be collected from the letters of Cicero, it is certain they would greatly mislead us in our notions of the principal actors, who now appeared upon the theatre of the Roman republic. Thus, for instance, who would imagine, that the person here represented as interesting heaven and earth in

I did not imagine, that I had preserved, among my papers, the trifling speech which I made in behalf of Deiotarus; * however, I have found it, and sent it to you, agreeably to your request. You will read it as a performance, which was, by no means, of consequence enough to deserve much care in the composition; and, to say truth, I was willing to

his welfare, was, in fact, a monster of lewdness and inhumanity? But how must the reader's astonishment be raised, when he is informed, that it is Cicero himself who tells us so? "*Dolabella—a puero pro diliciis crudelitas fuit* (says our author in one of his Philippic orations) *deinde ea libidinum turpitudine ut in hoc sit semper ipse lætatus, quod ea faceret quæ sibi objici ne ab inimico quidem possent verecundo.*" If this was a true picture of Dolabella, what shall be said in excuse of Cicero, for having disposed of his daughter to him in marriage? Should any too partial advocate of Cicero's moral character endeavour to palliate this unfavourable circumstance, by telling us, that he had never enquired into Dolabella's conduct, might it not justly be suspected, that he meant to banter? Yet, this is the very reason which Cicero himself assigns, in the oration from whence the above passage is cited. "*Et hic, dii immortales! aliquando fuit meus! occulta enim erat vitia non INQUIRENTI.*" Strange! that a man, who loved his daughter even to a degree of extravagance, should be so careless in an article wherein her happiness—But I need not finish the rest; where facts speak for themselves, let me be spared the pain of a comment.—*Vid. Philip. xi. 14.*

† See Vol. II. p. 42. note.

make my old friend and host a present of the same indelicate kind with his own.

May you ever preserve a virtuous and a generous mind ! that the moderation and integrity of your conduct may prove a living reproach to the violence and injustice of some others amongst our contemporaries ! Farewell.

LETTER XXVIII.

[A. U. 708.]

VATINIUS TO CICERO.

I HAVE not been able to do any thing to the purpose, with regard to your librarian, Dionysius ; * and, indeed, my endeavours have hitherto proved so much the less effectual, as the severity of the weather, which obliged me to retreat out of Dalmatia, still detains me here. However, I will not desist till I have gotten him into my custody. But surely I am always to find some difficulty or other in executing your commands ; why else did you write to me, I know not what, in favour of Catilius ? † But, avaunt, thou insidious tempter, with thy

* See Let. 12. of this Book.

† This man was quæstor in the year 702 ; and, during the civil war, was entrusted with some naval command ; but it appears, by the present letter, that he had turned pi-

dangerous intercessions ! And our friend Servilius, too, (for *mine* my heart prompts me to call him, as well as *yours*,) is, it seems, a joint petitioner with you in this request. Is it usual, then, I should be glad to know, with you orators, to be the advocates of such clients, and in such causes ? Is it usual to plead in behalf of the most cruel of the human race ? in defence of a man who has murdered our fellow-citizens, plundered their houses, ravished their wives, and laid whole regions in desolation ? This worthless wretch had the insolence, likewise, to take up arms against myself ; and he is now, 'tis true, my prisoner. But tell me, my dear Cicero, in what manner can I act in this affair ? I would not, willingly, refuse any thing to your request ; and, as far as my own private resentment is concerned, I will, in compliance with your desires, remit the punishment I intended. But what shall I answer to those unhappy sufferers, who require satisfaction for the loss of their effects, and the destruction of their ships ? who call for vengeance on the murderer of their brothers, their children, and their parents ? Believe me, if I had succeeded to the impudence as well as to the office of Appius,*

rate, and committed great cruelties and depredations upon the coasts of Illyricum.—*Pigh. Annal.* ii. 421.

* Manutius observes, that this is not the same Appius to

I could not have the assurance to withstand their cries for justice. Nevertheless, I will do every thing that lies in my power to gratify your inclinations. He is to be defended at his trial by Volusius; and if his prosecutors can be vanquished by eloquence, there is great reason to expect that the force of your disciple's rhetoric will put them to flight.

I depend upon your being my advocate at Rome, if there should be any occasion. Cæsar, indeed, has not yet done me the justice to move for a public thanksgiving for the success of my arms in Dalmatia; as if, in truth, I were not entitled to more, and might not justly claim the honour of a triumph! But as there are above threescore cities that have entered into an alliance with the Dalmatians, besides the twenty of which that country anciently consisted; if I am not to be honoured with a public thanksgiving till I shall have taken every one of

whom the letters in the 3d Book are addressed; and refers to a passage in Valerius Maximus, to prove, that he perished early in the civil wars. But so he undoubtedly might; and, nevertheless, be the same person here alluded to; for it by no means appears when, or in what post it was, that Vatinius succeeded to this Appius in question. Impudence, it is certain, was in the number of those qualities which distinguished that Appius to whom the letters above-mentioned are written. *Vid. Ad Att. iv. 18.*

these considerable towns, I am by no means upon equal terms with the rest of our generals.

Immediately after the senate had appointed the former thanksgivings for my victories,* I marched into Dalmatia, where I attacked, and made myself master of six of their towns. One of these, which was of very considerable strength, I might fairly say that I took four several times: for it was surrounded by a fortification consisting of four different walls, which were defended by as many forts; through all which I forced my way to the citadel, which I likewise compelled to surrender. But the excessive severity of the cold, together with the deep snows that fell at the same time, obliged me

* There is some difficulty in reconciling what Vatinius here says of a supplication having been decreed by the senate, with the complaint he makes above against Cæsar, for having delayed to move the house for that purpose. Some of the commentators, therefore, have suspected, that this is the beginning of a distinct letter; and others, that it is a postscript, written a considerable distance of time from the body of the epistle. But Mr Ross has offered, I think, a much better solution, by supposing that the thanksgiving, mentioned in the present paragraph, was one which had been decreed on account of some former successes of Vatinius in his province; and that the thanksgiving, concerning which he complains of Cæsar's neglect, was one that he was now soliciting in honour of those successes in Dalmatia, of which he here gives an account.

to retreat; so that I had the mortification, my dear Cicero, to find myself under the necessity of abandoning my conquests, just as I was upon the point of finishing the war. I entreat you, then, if occasion should require, to be my advocate with Cæsar, and, in every other respect, to take my interest under your protection; in the assurance that no man possesses an higher degree of affection for you than myself.

Narona, Dec. the 15th.

LETTERS
OF
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO
TO
SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

BOOK TWELFTH.

LETTER I.

[A. U. 709.]

TO CURIUS.*

Tis true, I once both advised and exhorted you to return into Italy; but I am so far from being in the same sentiments at present, that, on the contrary, I wish to escape myself,

To some blest clime remote from Pelop's race.†

* This is an answer to the 25th Letter of the foregoing Book.

† Alluding to the Cæsarian party. See Vol. III. p. 269. note.

My heart, indeed, most severely reproaches me for submitting to be the witness of their unworthy deeds. Undoubtedly, my friend, you long since foresaw our evil days approaching, when you wisely took your flight from these unhappy regions; for, though it must needs be painful to hear a relation of what is going forward amongst us, yet far more intolerable it surely is to be the sad spectator of so wretched a scene. One advantage, at least, you have certainly gained by your absence; it has spared you the mortification of being present at the late general assembly for the election of quæstors. At seven in the morning, the tribunal of Quintus Maximus, the consul, as they called him,* was placed in the field of Mars;† when news being brought of his sudden death, it was immediately removed. But Cæsar, notwithstanding he had taken the auspices‡ as for an assembly of the

* Cæsar (as Manutius observes) abdicated the consulship upon his late return from Spain, and arbitrarily appointed Quintus Maximus, together with Trebonius, consuls for the remaining part of the year. Maximus, therefore, not being legally elected, Cicero speaks of him as one whose title was acknowledged only by the prevailing faction.

† Where the poll for the election of magistrates was usually taken. It was situated on the banks of the Tiber.

‡ No assembly of the people could be regularly held, nor

tribes, converted it into that of the centuries,* and at one in the afternoon declared Caninius duly elected consul. Be it recorded, then, that, during the consulate of Caninius, no man had time to dine, and yet that there was not a single disturbance of any kind committed; for he was a magistrate, you must know, of such wonderful vigilance, that he never once slept throughout his whole administration. The truth of it is, his administration continued only to the end of the year, and

any public act performed, till the augurs had declared, that the omens were favourable for the purpose in agitation.

* The citizens of Rome were cast into three general divisions—into centuries, into *curiæ*, and into tribes. Some account of the two latter has been already given in Vol. I. p. 216. note, and in Vol. II. p. 187. note. The former was an institution of Servius Tullius, who distributed the people into one hundred and ninety-three centuries, according to the value of their respective possessions. These companies had a vote in all questions that came before the people assembled in this manner, and the majority of voices in each determined the suffrage of that particular century. But as the patricians and the wealthiest citizens of the republic filled up ninety-eight of these one hundred and eighty-nine classes, the inferior citizens were consequently deprived of all weight in the public deliberations. The prætors, consuls, and censors, were elected by the people assembled in centuries; but the quæstors, ædiles, and tribunes, were chosen in an assembly of the tribes, *Dion. Halicarn. iv. 20.*

both expired the very next morning. But, ridiculous as these transactions may appear to you, who are placed at so great a distance from them, believe me, you could not refrain from tears, if you were to see them in all their true and odious colours. How would you be affected, then, were I to mention the numberless instances of the same arbitrary kind which daily occur! For my own part, they would be utterly insupportable to me, had I not taken refuge in philosophy, and enjoyed likewise that friend* of ours for the companion of my studies, whose *property*, you tell me, you are.† However, since you assure me, at the same time, that all the benefit which can arise from you belongs solely to myself, I am perfectly well contented; for what can property give more?

Acilius, who is sent into Greece at the head of some legions, as successor to Sulpicius, has great obligations to me; for I successfully defended him in two capital prosecutions, before the commencement of our public troubles. He is a man of a very grateful disposition, and one who, upon all occasions, treats me with much regard. Accordingly, I herewith send you a letter, which I have written to him in your favour, in the strongest terms; and I

* Atticus.

† See the beginning of Curius's letter to Cicero, p. 138.

desire you will let me know what promises he shall give you in consequence of my recommendation. Farewell.

LETTER II.

[A. U. 709.]

TO AUCTUS,* PROCONSUL.

In confidence of that share you allow me in your esteem, and of which you gave me so many con-

* The commentators imagine that this person is the same whom Cicero mentions in the foregoing letter to have succeeded to Sulpicius in the government of Greece; and that, therefore, either instead of Auctus, the true reading is Acilius, or that he was called Acilius Auctus. But, though it is altogether impossible to determine who the person was to whom this letter is addressed, or in what year it was written, yet it seems highly probable that Acilius and Auctus were different men; for Cicero, in the preceding epistle, mentions Acilius as one on whom he had conferred some very important services; whereas, in the present letter, Cicero appears to have been the person obliged. Now, it is by no means credible, that our author, if he had ever done any good offices to Auctus, should have been totally silent upon a circumstance which would have given him a much higher claim to the favour he was requesting, than any which he produces. And the incredibility grows still stronger, when it is remembered that Cicero never fails to

vincing proofs during the times we continued together at Brundisium, * I claim a sort of right of applying to you upon any occasion wherein I am particularly interested. I take the liberty, therefore, of writing to you, in behalf of Marcus Curius, a merchant at Patræ, with whom I am most intimately united. Many are the good offices which have mutually passed between us; and, what indeed is of the greatest weight, they reciprocally flowed from the most perfect affection. If, then, you have reason to promise yourself any advantage from my friendship; if you are inclined to render the obligations you have formerly conferred upon me, if possible, even still more valuable; in a word, if you are persuaded that I hold a place in the esteem of every person in your family, let these considerations induce you to comply with my request in favour of Curius. Receive him, I conjure you, under your protection, and preserve both his

display his services upon all occasions in which he can, with any propriety, mention them. But on which side soever of this question the truth may lie, it is a point of such very little consequence, that perhaps it will scarce justify even this short remark.

* Probably during Cicero's residence in that city, upon his return into Italy, after the battle of Pharsalia; an account of which has been given in the foregoing observations.

person and his property from every injury and every inconvenience to which they may be exposed. In the mean time, I will venture to assure you myself, (what all your family will, I doubt not, confirm,) that you may depend upon deriving great satisfaction from my friendship, as well as much advantage from the faithful returns of my gratitude. Farewell.

LETTER III.

[A. U. 709.]

TO CURIUS.

YOUR letter affords me a very evident proof, that I possess the highest share of your esteem, and that you are sensible how much you are endeared to me in return; both which I have ever been desirous should be placed beyond a doubt. Since, then, we are thus firmly assured of each other's affection, let us endeavour to vie in our mutual good offices; a contest in which I am perfectly indifferent on which side the superiority may appear.

I am well pleased that you had no occasion to deliver my letter to Acilius.* I find, likewise, that you had not much for the services of Sulpicius;

* See the latter end of the first Letter in this Book.

having made so great a progress, it seems, in your affairs, as to have curtailed them (to use your own ludicrous expression) both of *head* and *feet*. I wish, however, you had spared the *latter*, that they might *proceed* a little faster, and give us an opportunity of one day seeing you again in Rome. We want you, indeed, in order to preserve that good old vein of pleasantry which is now, you may perceive, well-nigh worn out amongst us; insomuch, that Atticus may properly enough say, as he often, you know, used, "if it were not for two or three of us, my friends, what would become of the ancient glory of Athens!" Indeed, as the honour of being the chief support of Attic elegance devolved upon Pomponius,* when you left Italy; so, in his absence, it has now descended upon me. Hasten your return, then, I beseech you, my friend, lest every spark of wit, as well as of liberty, should be irrecoverably extinguished with the republic. Farewell.

* Pomponius Atticus.

LETTER IV.

[A. U. 709.]

TO CORNIFICIUS.

I HAVE the satisfaction to find, by your very obliging letter, that my last was safely delivered. I doubted not of its affording you pleasure; and, therefore, was so much the more uneasy, lest it should lose its way. You inform me, at the same time, that a war is broken out in Syria;* and that Cæsar has given you the government of this province. I wish you much joy of your command, and hope success will attend it, as, in full confidence of your wisdom and vigilance, I am well persuaded it will. Nevertheless, I am truly alarmed at what you mention concerning the invasion, which, it is suspected, the Parthians are meditating. I find, by your letter, that the number of your forces is agreeable to what I should have conjectured; I hope, therefore, that these people will not put themselves in motion, till the legions, which I hear are ordered to your assistance, shall arrive. But, if you should not, even with these supplies, find yourself in a condition to face the enemy, I

* See p. 140. note.

need not remind you to follow the maxim of your predecessor, Marcus Bibulus, who, you know, during the whole time that the Parthians continued in your province, most gallantly shut himself up in a strong garrison.* Yet, after all, circumstances will best determine in what manner it will be proper for you to act: in the mean time, I shall be extremely anxious, till I receive an account of your operations.

As I have never omitted any opportunity of writing to you, I hope you will observe the same punctuality with respect to me. But, above all, let me desire you to represent me, in your letters to your friends and family, as one who is entirely yours. Farewell.

* This seems to be intended as a sneer upon the conduct of Bibulus. Cicero was governor of Cilicia when Bibulus commanded in Syria, and they both solicited, at the same time, the honour of a public thanksgiving for the success of their respective arms. Cato gave his suffrage, upon this occasion, in favour of Bibulus, but refused it to Cicero; a preference which extremely exasperated the latter, and which was, probably, the principal cause of that contempt with which he speaks of Bibulus in the present passage. See Vol. II. p. 245, note.

LETTER V.

[A. U. 709.]

DECIMUS BRUTUS * TO MARCUS BRUTUS AND CAIUS
CASSIUS.

You will judge, by this letter, in what posture our affairs stand. I received a visit yesterday, in

* Decimus Brutus, of the same family with Marcus Brutus, served under Cæsar in the wars in Gaul; at the end of which, in the year 708, he returned to Rome, and was chosen one of the city quæstors. It does not appear that he distinguished himself by any thing remarkable, till he engaged with Marcus Brutus and Cassius in the conspiracy against his friend and benefactor. This was executed, as all the world knows, by stabbing Cæsar in the senate, on the ides, or the 15th of March, a few weeks before the present letter was written. When one considers the characters of those, who were the principal actors in this memorable tragedy, it is astonishing, that they should have looked no farther than merely to the taking away of Cæsar's life; as if they imagined, that the government must necessarily return into its proper channel, as soon as the person, who had obstructed its course, was removed. They were altogether, therefore, unprepared for those very probable contingencies, which they ought to have had in view, and which accordingly ensued. Whatever, then, may be determined as to the patriotism of the fact itself, it was, unquestionably, conducted, as Cicero frequently and justly

the evening, from Hirtius,* who convinced me of Antony's extreme perfidy and ill intentions towards us. He assured Hirtius, it seems, that he could by no means consent I should take possession of the province, to which I have been nominated; † and that both the army and the populace were so highly incensed against us, that he imagined, we could none of us continue with any safety in Rome. You are sensible, I dare say, that both these assertions are as absolutely false, as that it is undoubtedly

complains, by the weakest and most impolitic counsels. Antony, (who was at this time consul,) although he thought proper, at first, to carry a fair appearance towards the conspirators, yet secretly raised such a spirit against them, that they found it expedient to withdraw from Rome. Brutus and Cassius retired to Lanuvium, a villa belonging to the former, about fifteen miles from the city; at which place they probably were, when Decimus Brutus, who had not yet left Rome, wrote the following letter.

* Hirtius was warmly attached to Cæsar, and extremely regretted his death; but, as he was disgusted with Antony, and, perhaps, jealous too of his rising power, he seems to have opposed the cause he approved, merely from a spirit of personal pique and envy. *Vid. Ad Att. xiv. 22. xv. 6.*

† Cæsar, a short time before his death, had nominated Decimus Brutus to the government of Cisalpine Gaul, and Antony to that of Macedonia; but, as Gaul lay more conveniently for Antony's present purposes, his design was to procure the administration of it for himself.

true what Hirtius added, that Antony is apprehensive, if we should gain the least increase of power, it will be impossible for him and his party to maintain their ground. I thought, under these difficulties, the most prudent step I could take, for our common interest, would be to request, that an honorary legation * might be decreed to each of us, in order to give some decent colour to our leaving Rome. Accordingly, Hirtius has promised to obtain this grant in our favour, though, I must add, at the same time, such a spirit is raised against us in the senate, that I am by no means clear he will be able to perform his engagement. And should he succeed, yet I am persuaded it will not be long ere they declare us public enemies, or, at least, sentence us to banishment. It appears to me, therefore, our wisest method, in the present conjuncture, to submit to fortune, and withdraw to Rhodes, or to some other secure part of the world. We may there adjust our measures to public circumstances, and either return to Rome, or

* The senators could not be long absent from Rome, without leave of the senate. When their private affairs, therefore, required their attendance abroad, it was usual to apply for what they called a *legatio libera*, which gave a sanction to their absence, and invested them with a sort of travelling title, that procured them the greater respect and honours in the countries through which they passed, and in the place where they proposed to reside.

remain in exile, as affairs shall hereafter appear with a more or less inviting aspect; or, if the worst should happen, we may have recourse to the last desperate expedient.* Should it be asked, "Why not attempt something at present, rather than wait a more distant period?" my answer is, because I know not where we can hope to make a stand, unless we should go either to Sextus Pompeius,† or to Cæcilius Bassus.‡ It is probable, indeed, that, when the news of Cæsar's death shall be spread through their respective provinces, it may much contribute to strengthen their party: however, it will be soon enough to join them, when we shall know the state of their forces.

* That is, (as the commentators explain it,) by arming the slaves, throwing open the prisons, and raising foreign nations in their defence.

† Sextus Pompeius, the younger son of Pompey, was in Corduba, when his brother Cneius gave battle to Cæsar. Cneius, attempting to make his escape, after the total defeat of his army, was killed by some of the conqueror's soldiers: but Sextus, upon the enemy's approach, in order to lay siege to Corduba, secretly abandoned that city, and concealed himself till Cæsar's return into Italy. The latter had no sooner left Spain, than Sextus collected his broken forces; and, a short time after this letter was written, he appeared at the head of no less than six legions. *Hirt. de Bell. Hisp. Dio. p. 274.*

‡ An account of him has already been given in p. 140, note.

If you and Cassius are desirous I should enter into any engagement on your behalf, I shall very readily be your sponsor; and, indeed, it is a condition which Hirtius requires. I desire, therefore, you would acquaint me with your resolution as soon as possible; for I expect, before ten o'clock, to receive an appointment from Hirtius to meet him upon these affairs. Let me know, at the same time, where I shall find you.

As soon as Hirtius shall have given me his final answer, I purpose to apply to the senate, that a guard may be appointed to attend us in Rome. I do not suppose they will comply with this request, as our appearing to stand in need of such a protection will render them extremely odious. But how successful soever my demands may prove, I shall not be discouraged from making such as I think reasonable. Farewell.

LETTER VI.

[A. U. 709.]

TO TIRO.

NOTWITHSTANDING I wrote this morning by Harpatus, and nothing new has since occurred, yet I cannot forbear making use of this opportunity of conveying a second letter to you, upon the same

subject; not, however, as entertaining the least distrust of your care, but because the business, in which I have employed you, is of the last importance to me.* My whole design, indeed, in parting with you, was, that you might thoroughly settle my affairs. I desire, therefore, in the first place, that the demands of Otilius and Aurelius may be satisfied. Your next endeavour must be to obtain part, at least, if you cannot procure the whole, of what is due to me from Flamma; and particularly insist on his making this payment by the first of January.† With regard to that debt, which was assigned over to me, I beg you would exert your utmost diligence to recover it; but, as to the advance-payment of the other not yet due, I leave you to act as you shall judge proper: and this

* As Cicero was known to favour the conspirators, he did not think it prudent to trust himself in Rome after Brutus and Cassius had found it necessary to withdraw from thence; and, accordingly, he soon afterwards followed their example, by retiring into the country. His intention, at this time, was to make a tour into Greece for a few months; and with that view he had dispatched Tiro to Rome, in order to call in the several monies which were due to him, and likewise to discharge some debts which he had himself contracted.

† When the new consuls were to enter upon their office, by which time Cicero proposed to return to Rome.

much for my private concerns. As to those of the public, I desire you would send me all the certain intelligence you can collect. Let me know what Octavius* and Antony are doing; what is the general opinion of Rome; and what turn you imagine affairs are likely to take. I can scarcely forbear running into the midst of the scene; but I restrain myself, in the expectation of your letter.

Your news concerning Balbus proves true; he was at Aquinum at the time you were told, and Hirtius followed him thither the next day. I ima-

* Octavius, who was afterwards known and celebrated by the name of Augustus Cæsar, was the son of Attia, Julius Cæsar's niece. His uncle, who designed him for the heir, both of his power and his fortunes, had sent him, about six months before his death, to Apollonia, a learned seminary of great note in Macedonia. In this place, he was to prosecute his studies and exercises, till Cæsar, who proposed he should accompany him in his intended expedition against the Parthians, should call upon him in his march to that country. But, as soon as Octavius was informed of the death of Cæsar, and that he had appointed him his heir, he immediately hastened to Rome; and the eyes of every body, but particularly of Cicero, were now attentively turned towards him, in order to discover in what manner he would act in this very critical situation, both of his own affairs, and those of the republic. *Dio. p. 271. Appian. Bell. Civil. ii.*

gine they are both going to the waters of Baiæ ; but let me know what you can discover of their motions.

Do not forget to remind the agents of Dolabella,* nor to insist upon the payment of what is due from Papia. Farewell.

LETTER VII.

[A. U. 709.]

TO BITHYNICUS.†

I HAVE many reasons to wish that the republic may be restored ; but, believe me, the promise you give me in your letter, renders it still more ardently my desire. You assure me, if that happy event should take place, you will consecrate your whole time to me ; an assurance which I received with the greatest pleasure, as it is perfectly agreeable to the

* It appears, by the letters written to Atticus at this time, that Cicero had some considerable demands upon Dolabella, which arose, it is probable, from the latter not having yet returned the whole of Tullia's portion, agreeably to the Roman laws in cases of divorce.

† This person is supposed, by Manutius, to be the son of Quintus Pompeius, who obtained the name of Bithynicus, in honour of his conquest of Bithynia.

friendship in which we are united, and to the opinion which that excellent man your father * entertained of me. You have received more considerable services, I confess, from the men who are, or lately were, in power, than any that I have been capable of conferring upon you: but, in all other respects, there is no person whose connections with you are of a stronger kind than my own. It is with great satisfaction, therefore, that I find, you not only preserve our friendship in your remembrance, but are desirous, likewise, of increasing its strength. Farewell.

LETTER VIII.

[A. U. 709.]

TO TIRO.

IF you should have an opportunity, you may register the money you mention; though, indeed, it is an acquisition which it is not absolutely requisite to enrol.† However, it may perhaps be as well.

* Cicero mentions him in his Treatise of celebrated Orators, as one with whom he had enjoyed a particular friendship. He attended Pompey in his flight after the battle of Pharsalia, and perished with him in Egypt. *Cic. de Clar. Orat.* 240.

† The censors every five years numbered the people; at

I have received a letter from Balbus, wherein he excuses himself for not giving me an account of Antony's intentions concerning the law I enquired after; because he has gotten, it seems, a violent defluxion upon his eyes. Excellent excuse, it must be owned! For if a man is not able to write, most certainly, you know, he cannot dictate! But let the world go as it will, so I may sit down quietly here in the country.

I have written to Bithynicus. As to what you mention concerning Servilius; you, who are a young man, may think length of days a desirable circumstance; but, for myself, I have no such wish.* Atticus, nevertheless, imagines, that I am still as anxious for the preservation of my life as he once knew me, not observing how firmly I have since fortified my heart with all the strength of philosophy. The truth of it is, he is now seized in his

which time, each citizen was obliged to give an exact account of his estate. But if, in the interval, a man had made any new acquisition, he was required to enter it before the prætor.

* Servilius Isauricus died about this time, in an extreme old age: Manutius conjectures, therefore, and with great probability, that Tiro, in the letter to which the present is an answer, had given Cicero an account of this event, and, at the same time, expressed his wishes of living to the same advanced period.

turn with a panic himself, and would endeavour to infect me with the same groundless apprehensions. But it is my intention to preserve that friendship unviolated, which I have so long enjoyed with Antony; * and, accordingly, I intend writing to him very soon. I shall defer my letter, however, till your return; but I do not mention this with any design of calling you off from the business you are

* Both Antony and Cicero seem to have been equally unwilling, at this time, to come to an open rupture; but, as to a real friendship between them, it is highly probable, there never had been any. On the part of Antony, at least, there were some very strong family reasons to alienate him from Cicero; for Antony's father married the widow of Lentulus, whom Cicero had put to death, as an accomplice in Catiline's conspiracy; and he, himself, was married to Fulvia, the widow of Clodius, Cicero's most inveterate enemy. These alliances must, unquestionably, have made impressions upon Antony's mind, little favourable to sentiments of amity; and probably contributed, among other reasons, to kindle that resentment, which terminated in Cicero's destruction; but whatever the true motive of their enmity towards each other might have been, the first coolness seems to have arisen on the side of Antony; and, if Cicero had resented it with greater moderation, he would have acted, perhaps, with more prudence, in regard to the public interest, as well as in respect to his own. *Vid. Ad Att. xiv. 19.*

transacting,* and which, indeed, is much more nearly my concern.

I expect a visit from Lepta to-morrow; and shall have occasion for all the sweets of your conversation, to temper the bitterness with which his will be attended. Farewell.

LETTER IX.

[A. U. 709.]

TO DOLABELLA, CONSUL.†

I DESIRE no greater satisfaction, my dear Dolabella, than what arises to me from the disinterested

* See p. 164, note.

† Cæsar had appointed Dolabella to succeed him in the consulship, as soon as he should set out upon his Parthian expedition; and, accordingly, Dolabella, upon the death of Cæsar, immediately assumed the administration of that office. His conduct, in this critical conjuncture, had rendered it somewhat doubtful which side he was most disposed to favour; but an accident had lately happened, which gave the friends of the republic great hopes, that he would support the cause of the conspirators:—Some of Cæsar's freedmen had erected a sort of altar, upon the spot where his body had been burnt, at which the populace daily assembled in the most tumultuous and alarming manner. Dolabella, in the absence of his colleague Antony, interposed his consular authority, in order to suppress this mob; and,

part I take in the glory you have lately acquired; however, I cannot but acknowledge, I am infinitely pleased to find, that the world gives me a share in the merit of your late applauded conduct. I daily meet, in this place, great numbers of the first rank in Rome, who are assembled here for the benefit of their health, as well as a multitude of my friends from the principal cities in Italy, and they all agree in joining their particular thanks to me, with those unbounded praises they bestow upon you. They, every one of them indeed, tell me, that they are persuaded it is owing to your compliance with my counsels and admonitions, that you approve yourself so excellent a patriot, and so worthy a consul. I might with strict truth assure them, that you are much superior to the want of being advised by any man; and that your actions are the free and genuine result of your own uninfluenced judgment. But, although I do not entirely acquiesce in their compliment, as it would lessen the credit of your conduct, if it should be supposed to flow altogether

having caused the altar to be demolished, he exerted a very seasonable act of severity, by commanding the principal ringleaders of the riot to be instantly put to death. It was this that produced the following letter from Cicero, written from some place of public resort, probably from the Baths of Baia. *Dio.* p. 240, 267. *Ad Att.* xiv. 15.

from my suggestions; yet neither do I wholly reject it: for the love of praise is a passion, which I am apt, you know, somewhat too immoderately to indulge. Yet, after all, to take counsel of a Nestor, as it was an honour to the character even of that king of kings, Agamemnon himself, it cannot surely be unbecoming the dignity of yours. It is certainly, at least, much to the credit of mine, that while, in this early period of your life,* you are thus exercising the supreme magistracy with universal admiration and applause, you are considered as directed by my guidance, and formed by my instructions.

I lately paid a visit to Lucius Cæsar,† at Naples; and, though I found him extremely indisposed, and

* Dolabella was, at this time, no more than twenty-five years of age, which was almost twenty years earlier than he could legally have offered himself as a candidate for the consular dignity; the Roman laws having very wisely provided, that no man should be capable of exercising this important office till he had attained the age of forty-two.

† He was a distant relation to Julius Cæsar, and uncle to Mark Antony. Upon the celebrated coalition of the triumvirate, he was sacrificed, by Antony, to the resentment of Octavius; as, in return, Cicero was delivered up to the vengeance of Antony; but Lucius escaped the consequence of this proscription, by the means of Julia, Antony's mother. *Plut. in Vit. Ant.*

full of pain in every part of his body, yet the moment I entered his chamber, he raised himself with an air of transport, and without allowing himself time to salute me,—“O my dear Cicero,” said he, “I give you joy of your influence over Dolabella; and had I the same credit with my nephew, our country might now be preserved. But I not only congratulate your friend on his worthy conduct, but desire you would return him my particular acknowledgments; as, indeed, he is the single consul who has acted with true spirit, since you filled that office.” He then proceeded to enlarge upon your late glorious action, representing it as equal to the most illustrious and important service that ever was rendered to the commonwealth; and in this he only echoed the general voice of the whole republic. Suffer me, then, to take possession of those encomiums, to which I am by no means entitled, and, in some sort, to participate with you in that general applause you have acquired. To be serious, however, (for you will not imagine that I make this request in good earnest,) I would much rather resign to you the whole of my own glory (if there be any, indeed, I can justly claim) than arrogate to myself the least portion of that which is so unquestionably your due. For as you cannot but be sensible that I have ever loved you, so your late behaviour has raised that affection into the highest pos-

sible ardour; as, in truth, there cannot be any thing more engagingly fair, more irresistibly amiable, than the patriot virtues. I need not tell you how greatly the exalted talents and polite manners, together with the singular spirit and probity of Marcus Brutus, had ever endeared him to my heart. Nevertheless, his late glorious achievement, on the ides of March, has wonderfully heightened that esteem I bore him, and which I had always looked upon as too exalted to admit of any farther advance. In the same manner, who would have imagined, that my friendship towards yourself was capable of increase? Yet it actually has increased so very considerably, that the former sentiments of my heart seem to have been nothing more than common affection, in comparison of that transcendent passion which I now feel for you.

Can it be necessary, that I should either exhort you to preserve the glory you have acquired, or, agreeably to the usual style of admonition, set before your view some animating examples of illustrious merit? I could mention none, for this purpose, more forcible than your own; and you have only to endeavour to act up to the character you have already attained. It is impossible, indeed, after having performed so signal a service to your country, that you should ever deviate from yourself. Instead, therefore, of sending you any unnecessary

exhortations, let me rather congratulate you upon this noble display of your patriotism. It is your privilege (and a privilege, perhaps, which no one ever enjoyed before) to have exercised the severest acts of necessary justice, not only without incurring any odium, but with the greatest popularity; with the approbation of the lowest, as well as of the best and highest, amongst us. If this were a circumstance in which chance had any share, I should congratulate your good fortune; but it was the effect of a noble and undaunted resolution, under the guidance of the strongest and most enlightened judgment. I say this, from having read the speech you made upon this occasion to the people; and never was any harangue more judiciously composed. You open and explain the fact with so much address, and gradually rise through the several circumstances in so artful a manner, as to convince all the world that the affair was mature for your animadversion. In a word, you have delivered the commonwealth in general, as well as the city of Rome in particular, from the dangers with which they were threatened; and not only performed a singular service to the present generation, but set forth a most useful example for times to come. You will consider yourself, then, as the great support of the republic; and remember, she expects, that you will not only protect, but distinguish those

illustrious persons* who have laid the foundation for the recovery of our liberties. But I hope soon to have an opportunity of expressing my sentiments to you more fully upon this subject in person. In the mean while, since you are thus our glorious guardian and preserver, I conjure you, my dear Dolabella, to take care of yourself for the sake of the whole commonwealth.† Farewell.

* Brutus and Cassius, together with the rest of the conspirators.

† Cicero communicated a copy of this letter to Atticus, who appears to have much disapproved of those encomiums with which it is so extravagantly swelled. The hyperbole, indeed, seems to have been the prevailing figure in Cicero's rhetoric; and he generally dealt it out, both to his friends and to his enemies, with more warmth than discretion. In the present instance, at least, he was either very easily imposed upon by appearances, or he changed his opinion of Dolabella's public actions and designs, according to the colour of his conduct towards himself. Perhaps both these causes might concur in forming those great and sudden variations, which we find in our author's sentiments at this period, with respect to the hero of the panegyric before us; for, in a letter to Atticus, written very shortly after the present, he speaks of Dolabella with high displeasure; and, in another to the same person, a few months later, he exclaims against him with much bitterness, as one who had not only been bribed by Antony to desert the cause of liberty, but who had endeavoured, as far as in him lay, entirely to ruin it. The accusation seems to

LETTER X.

[A. U. 709.]

TO TREBONIUS.*

I HAVE recommended my *Orator* (for that is the title which I have given to the Treatise I promised to send you) to the care of your freedman Sabinus. I was induced to trust it in his charge, from the good opinion I entertain of his countrymen; if, indeed, I may guess at his country by his

have been just; but it is observable, however, that, in both the letters referred to, part of Cicero's indignation arises from some personal ill treatment, which he complains of having received from Dolabella. *Vid. Ad Att. xiv. 18. xvi. 15.*

* Some account has already been given of Trebonius in Vol. III. p. 78, note. Cæsar, upon his return from Spain, in the preceding year, appointed him consul with Quintus Fabius Maximus; but this, and other favours of the same kind, were not sufficient to restrain him from entering into the conspiracy, which was soon afterwards formed against Cæsar's life. At the same time, therefore, that Brutus and Cassius found it expedient to leave Rome, Trebonius secretly withdrew into Asia Minor, which had before been allotted to him as his proconsular province; and he was on his way to that government when the present letter was written. *Dio. p. 236, 247. Ad Att. xiv. 10.*

name,* and he has not, like an artful candidate at an election, usurped an appellation to which he has no right.† However, there is such a modesty in his countenance, and such an air of sincerity in his conversation, that I am much deceived if he does not possess, in some degree at least, the true Sabine simplicity. But not to suffer him to take up any more of my paper, I will now turn, my dear Trebonius, to yourself. As there were some circumstances attending your departure that increased the affection I bear towards you, let me intreat you, in order to soothe the uneasiness I feel from your absence, to be as frequent a correspondent on your part, as you shall certainly find me on mine. There are two reasons, indeed, why you ought to be more so; the first is, that, as the republic can now no

* Cicero supposes, that Sabinus was so called, as being a native of Sablnia, a country in Italy, the inhabitants of which were celebrated for having long retained an uncorrupted simplicity of manners. "*Hanc olim veteres vitam coluere Sabini*," is Virgil's conclusion of that charming description which he gives of the pleasing labours and innocent recreations of rural life. *Georg.* ii. 532.

† It was an artifice sometimes practised by the candidates for offices, in order to recommend themselves to the good graces of their constituents, to pretend a kindred, to which they had no right, by assuming the name of some favourite and popular family. *Manut.*

longer be considered as in Rome, but removed with its glorious defenders, we, who remain here, must expect to receive from our provincial friends what we used to transmit to them, an account, I mean, of the commonwealth. The next reason is, because I have many other opportunities in your absence, besides that of writing, to give you proofs of my friendship; whereas you have none, I think, of testifying yours, but by the frequency of your letters. As to all other articles, I can wait; but my first and most impatient desire is to know what sort of journey you have had, where you met Brutus,* and how long you continued together. When you are advanced farther towards your province, you will acquaint me, I hope, with your military preparations, and with whatever else relates to our public affairs, that I may be able to form some judgment of our situation. I am sure, at least, I shall give no credit to any intelligence but what I receive from your hands. In the mean time, take care of your health, and continue to allow me the

* Brutus had not left Italy when Trebonius set out for Asia, nor did he leave it till several months afterwards; so that the inquiry which Cicero here makes, must relate to some interview which he supposed that Trebonius might have had with Brutus before the former embarked. *Vid. Ad Att. xiv. 10.*

same singular share of your affection which I have always enjoyed. Farewell.

LETTER XI.

[A. U. 709.]

TREBONIUS TO CICERO.*

I ARRIVED at Athens on the 22d of this month, where, agreeably to my wishes, I had the satisfaction of finding your son in the pursuit of the noblest improvements, and in the highest esteem for his modest and ingenuous behaviour.† As you perfectly well know the place you possess in my heart, you will judge, without my telling you, how much pleasure this circumstance afforded me. In conformity, indeed, to the unfeigned friendship which had so long been cemented between us, I rejoice in every advantage that can attend you, be it ever so inconsiderable; much more, therefore, in one so important to your happiness. Believe me, my dear Cicero, I do not flatter you when I say, there is not a youth in all this seminary of learning more ardently devoted to those refined and elevated arts

* This letter seems to have been written before the preceding epistle had reached the hands of Trebonius.

† See the notes on Let. 37. of this Book.

which are so peculiarly your passion, or who, in every view of his character, is more truly amiable, than our young man. I call him *ours*, for, be assured, I cannot separate myself from any thing with which you are connected. It is with great pleasure, therefore, as well as with strict justice, I congratulate both you and myself, that a youth for whom we ought to have some affection, whatever his disposition might be, is of a character to deserve our highest. As he intimated a desire of seeing Asia, I not only invited, but pressed, him to take the opportunity of visiting that province whilst I presided there: and you will not doubt of my supplying your place in every tender office of paternal care. But that you may not be apprehensive this scheme will prove an interruption of those studies, to which I know he is continually animated by your exhortations, Cratippus* shall be of our party. Nor shall your son want my earnest incitements to advance daily in those sciences, into which he has already made so successful an entrance.

I am wholly ignorant of what is going forward at Rome; only I hear some uncertain rumours of commotions amongst you. But I hope there is no foundation for this report; that we may one day sit down in the peaceful possession of our liberties,

* See Let. 37. of this Book, note.

retired from the noise and bustle of the world : a privilege which hitherto it has not been my fortune to enjoy. However, having had a short relaxation from business, during my voyage to this place, I amused myself with putting together a few thoughts, which I always designed as a present to you. In this performance, I have inserted that lively observation which you formerly made so much to my honour, and have pointed out, by a note at the bottom, to whom I am indebted for the compliment. If, in some passages of this piece, I should appear to have taken great liberties, I shall be justified, I persuade myself, by the character of the man at whom my invective is aimed : * and you will, undoubtedly, excuse the just indignation I have expressed against a person of such infamous principles. Why, indeed, may I not be indulged in the same unbounded licence as was allowed to honest Lucilius ? † He could not be animated with greater abhorrence of the vices, which he had so freely attacked ; and, certainly, they were not more worthy of satire than those against which I have inveighed.

I hope you will remember your promise, and take the first opportunity of introducing me as a

* Probably at Antony.

† See Vol. III. p. 225, note.

party in some of your future dialogues. I doubt not, if you should write any thing upon the subject of Cæsar's death, that you will give an instance of your friendship and your justice, by ascribing to me no inconsiderable share of that glorious transaction.

I recommend my mother and family to your good offices, and bid you farewell.

Athens, May the 25th.

LETTER XII.

[A. U. 709.]

TO MATIUS.*

I KNOW not whether it is with greater pain or pleasure, that I reflect on the visit which I lately

* It is principally owing to this and the following letter, that the name and character of Matius are known to posterity; as he is no where mentioned by any of the ancient historians of this memorable period. His inviolable and disinterested affection to Cæsar, together with the generous courage with which he avowed that attachment when Cæsar was no more, as they strongly mark out the virtues of his heart, so they will best appear by his own spirited reply to the present epistle. But Matius was as much distinguished by his genius as his virtues; and he was perfectly well accomplished in those arts which contribute to the in-

received from our very good friend, the well-natured Trebatius. He called upon me the next morning after my arrival at Tusculum; and, as he was by no means sufficiently recovered from his late indisposition, I could not forbear reproving him for thus hazarding his health. He interrupted me with saying, that nothing was of more importance to him than the business which brought him to my house; and upon my enquiry if any thing new had occurred, he immediately entered into an account of your complaints against me. But, before I give them a particular answer, let me begin with a few previous reflections.

Amongst all my acquaintance, I cannot recollect any man with whom I have longer enjoyed a friendship than with yourself; and, although there are several for whom my affection commenced as early, there are few for whom it has risen so high. The truth of it is, I conceived an esteem for you from the first moment I saw you; and I had reason to believe, that you thought of me in the same favourable

nocent pleasure and embellishment of human life. Gardening and poetry, in particular, seem to have been his favourite amusements: in the former of which, his countrymen were indebted to him for some useful improvements; as they likewise were, in the latter, for an elegant translation of the *Iliad*. *Columel.* xii. 44. *Aul. Gel.* vi. 6. ix. 4.

manner. But your long absence from Rome, which immediately succeeded our first acquaintance, together with that active course of life wherein I was engaged, and which was so entirely different from yours, did not, at that time, admit of our improving this mutual disposition, by a more frequent intercourse. Nevertheless, even so long ago as when Cæsar was in Gaul, and many years before the commencement of the civil war, I experienced your friendly inclinations towards me : for, as you imagined that my union with Cæsar would be greatly advantageous on my side, and not altogether unserviceable to his, you generously recommended me to his favour, and was the cause of his cultivating my friendship. I forbear to mention several instances which occurred at that period, of the unreserved manner in which we both conversed and corresponded together, as they were followed by others of a more important nature. At the opening of the civil war, when you were going to meet Cæsar at Brundisium, you paid me a visit in my Formian villa. This single favour, had it been attended with no other, was, at such a critical juncture, an ample testimony of your affection. But can I ever forget the generous advice you so kindly gave me at the same time, and of which Trebatius, I remember, was himself a witness? Can I ever forget the letter you afterwards wrote to me,

when you went to join Cæsar in the district, if I mistake not, of Trebula? It was soon after this, that, either by gratitude, by honour, or perhaps by fate, I was determined to follow Pompey into Greece; and was there any instance of an obliging zeal, which you did not exert in my absence, both for me and for my family? Was there any one, in short, whom either they or I had more reason to esteem our friend? But I returned to Brundisium; and can I forget, (let me ask once more,) with what an obliging expedition you hastened, as soon as you heard of my arrival, to meet me at Tarentum? How friendly were your visits! how kind your endeavours to reason me out of that dejection, into which the dread of our general calamities had sunk me! At length, however, I returned to Rome, where every proof of the greatest intimacy, and upon occasions too of the most important kind, mutually passed between us. It was by your directions and advice, that I learned to regulate my conduct with respect to Cæsar: and as to other instances of your friendship, where was the man, except Cæsar himself, at whose house you more frequently visited, or upon whom you bestowed so many agreeable hours of your conversation, in some of which, you may remember, it was, that you encouraged me to engage in my philosophical writings? When Cæsar afterwards returned from

completing his victories, it was your first and principal endeavour to establish me again in his friendship; and it was an endeavour in which you perfectly well succeeded. But to what purpose, you will ask, perhaps, is this long detail? Longer, indeed, I must acknowledge, it is than I was myself aware: however, the use I would make of these several circumstances, is to shew you how much reason I have to be surprised, that you, who well know the truth of them, should believe me capable of having acted inconsistently with such powerful ties. But, besides these motives of my attachment to you, motives known and visible to the whole world, there are others of a far less conspicuous kind, and which I am at a loss to represent in the terms they deserve. Every part, indeed, of your character I admire; but when I consider you as the wise, the firm, and the faithful friend; as the polite, the witty, and the learned companion,—these, I confess, are the striking points, amidst your many other illustrious qualifications, with which I am particularly charmed. But it is time to return to the complaints you have alleged against me. Be assured, then, I never once credited the report of your having voted for the law you mentioned to Trebatius; and, indeed, if I had, I should have been well persuaded, that you were induced to concur in promoting it upon some very just and ra-

tional motive. But, as the dignity of your character draws upon you the observation of all the world, the malevolence of mankind will, sometimes, give severer constructions to your actions than most certainly they merit. If no instances of this kind have ever reached your knowledge, I know not in what manner to proceed in my justification. Believe me, however, I have always defended you, upon these occasions, with the same warmth and spirit, with which I am sensible you are wont to oppose, on your part, the calumnies that are thrown out upon myself. Thus, with regard to the law I just now mentioned, I have always peremptorily denied the truth of the charge; and as to your having been one of the managers of the late games,* I

* At the time when Cæsar was killed, he was preparing, agreeably to a vow which he had made at the battle of Pharsalia, to exhibit some games in honour of Venus; a divinity from whom he affected to be thought a descendant, Octavius, soon after his return to Rome, upon the death of Cæsar, celebrated these games at his own expence; and Mælius undertook to be one of the managers. As this was a public mark of respect paid to the memory of Cæsar, and might tend to inflame the minds of the populace against the conspirators, it gave much disgust to the friends of the republic; and Cicero, it is probable, was in the number of those who had openly spoken of it with displeasure. He did so, at least, in a letter to Atticus. *Vid. Ad Att. xv. 2. Appian. Bel. Civil. ii. 407.*

have constantly insisted, that you acted agreeably to those pious offices that are due to the memory of a departed friend. In respect to the latter, however, you cannot be ignorant, that, if Cæsar was really a tyrant, (as I think he was,*) your zeal may be considered in two very different views. It may be said, (and it is an argument which I never fail to urge in your favour,) that you shewed a very commendable fidelity, in thus displaying your affection to a departed friend. On the other hand, it may be alleged, (and in fact it is alleged,) that the liberties of our country ought to be far preferable even to the life itself of those whom we hold most dear. I wish you had been informed of the

* "It is with injustice," said the celebrated queen of Sweden, "that Cæsar is accused of being a tyrant; if to govern Rome was the most important service he could have performed to his country." It is certain, that the republic was well nigh reduced to a state of total anarchy, when Cæsar usurped the command; but it is equally certain, that he, himself, had been the principal author and fomentor of those confusions, which rendered an absolute authority the only possible expedient for reducing the commonwealth into a state of tranquillity and good order. If this be true, it seems no very intricate question to determine, what verdict ought to be passed upon Cæsar. But surely it is difficult to know by what principles Cicero can be acquitted, who reviled that man when dead, whom he was the first to flatter when living.

part I have always taken, whenever this question has been started. But there are two circumstances that reflect the brightest lustre upon your character, and which none of your friends more frequently, or more warmly, commemorate than myself; I mean, your having always most strongly recommended pacific measures to Cæsar, and constantly advised him to use his victory with moderation; in both which, the whole world is agreed with me in acknowledging your merit.

I think myself much obliged to our friend Trebatius, for having given me this occasion of justifying myself before you. And you will credit the professions I have here made, unless you imagine me void of every spark both of gratitude and generosity; an opinion than which nothing can be more injurious to my sentiments, or more unworthy of yours. Farewell.

LETTER XIII.

[A. U. 709.]

MATIUS TO CICERO.

I RECEIVED great satisfaction from your letter, as it assured me of my holding that rank in your esteem, which I have ever wished and hoped to enjoy. Indeed, I never doubted of your good opi-

nion ; but the value I set upon it, rendered me solicitous of preserving it without the least blemish. Conscious, however, that I had never given just offence to any candid and honest mind, I was the less disposed to believe, that you, whose sentiments are exalted by the cultivation of so many generous arts, could hastily credit any reports to my disadvantage ; especially as you were one for whom I had at all times discovered much sincere good will. But as I have the pleasure to find that you think of me agreeably to my wishes, I will drop this subject, in order to vindicate myself from those calumnies which you have so often, and with such singular generosity, opposed. I am perfectly well apprized of the reflections that have been cast upon me since Cæsar's death. It has been imputed to me, I know, that I lament the loss of my friend, and think, with indignation, on the murderers of the man I loved. "The welfare of our country," say my accusers, (as if they had already made it appear that the destruction of Cæsar was for the benefit of the commonwealth,) "the welfare of our country is to be preferred to all considerations of amity." It may be so ; but I will honestly confess, that I am by no means arrived at this elevated strain of patriotism. Nevertheless, I took no part with Cæsar in our civil dissensions ; but neither did I desert my friend, because I disliked his

measures. The truth is, I was so far from approving the civil war, that I always thought it unjustifiable, and exerted my utmost endeavours to extinguish those sparks by which it was kindled. In conformity to these sentiments, I did not make use of my friend's victory to the gratification of any lucrative or ambitious purposes of my own, as some others most shamefully did, whose interest with Cæsar was much inferior to mine. Far, in truth, from being a gainer by his success, I suffered greatly in my fortunes by that very law which saved many of those who now exult in his death from the disgrace of being obliged to fly their country.* Let me add, that I recommended the vanquished party to his clemency, with the same warmth and zeal as if my own preservation had been concerned. Thus desirous that all my fellow-citizens might enjoy their lives in full security, can I repress the indignation of my heart against the assassins of that man from whose generosity this privilege was obtained; especially as the same hands were lifted up to his destruction, which had first drawn upon him all the odium and envy of his ad-

* The law alluded to, is probably that which Cæsar enacted for the relief of those who had contracted debts before the commencement of the civil war; of which see Vol. III. p. 164, note.

ministration? Yet I am threatened, it seems, with their vengeance, for daring to condemn the deed. Unexampled insolence! that some should glory in the perpetration of those crimes which others should not be permitted even to deplore! The meanest slave has ever been allowed to indulge, without controul, the fears, the sorrows, or the joys of his heart; but these, our assertors of *liberty*, as they call themselves, endeavour to extort from me, by their menaces, this common privilege of every creature. Vain and impotent endeavours! no dangers shall intimidate me from acting up to the generous duties of friendship and humanity; persuaded, as I have ever been, that death, in an honest cause, ought never to be shunned, and frequently to be courted. Yet, why does it thus move their displeasure, if I only wish that they may repent of what they have perpetrated? for wish I will acknowledge I do, that both they and all the world may regret the death of Cæsar. “But as a member (say they) of the commonwealth, you ought, above all things, to desire its preservation.” Now, that I sincerely do so, if the whole tenor of my past conduct, and all the hopes I can reasonably be supposed to entertain, will not sufficiently evince, I shall not attempt to prove it by my professions. I conjure you, then, to judge of me, not by what others may say, but by the plain tendency of my

actions ; and, if you believe I have any interest in the tranquillity of the republic, be assured, that I will have no communication with those who would impiously disturb its peace. Shall I renounce, indeed, those patriot principles I steadily pursued in my youth, when warmth and inexperience might have pleaded some excuse for errors ? Shall I, in the sober season of declining age, wantonly unravel, at once, the whole fair contexture of my better days ? Most assuredly not ; nor shall I ever give any other offence than in bewailing the severe catastrophe of a most intimate and illustrious friend ! Were I disposed to act otherwise, I should scorn to deny it ; nor should it be ever said, that I covered my crimes by hypocrisy, and feared to avow what I scrupled not to commit.

But to proceed to the other articles of the charge against me ; it is farther alleged, that I presided at those games which the young Octavius exhibited in honour of Cæsar's victories. The charge, I confess, is true ; but what connection has an act of mere private duty with the concerns of the republic ? It was an office, not only due from me to the memory of my departed friend, but which I could not refuse to that illustrious youth, his most worthy heir. I am reproached, also, with having been frequent in paying my visits of compliment to Antony ; yet you will find, that the very men who impute this

as a mark of disaffection to my country, appeared much more frequently at his levee, either to solicit his favours, or to receive them. But, after all, can there be any thing, let me ask, more insufferably arrogant than this accusation? Cæsar never opposed my associating with whomsoever I thought proper, even though it were with persons whom he himself disapproved; and shall the men who have cruelly robbed me of one friend, attempt, likewise, by their malicious insinuations, to alienate me from another? But the moderation of my conduct, will, I doubt not, discredit all reports that may hereafter be raised to my disadvantage; and I am persuaded, that even those who hate me for my attachment to Cæsar, would rather choose a friend of my disposition than of their own. In fine, if my affairs should permit me, it is my resolution to spend the remainder of my days at Rhodes. But, if any accident should render it necessary for me to continue at Rome, my actions shall evince, that I am sincerely desirous of my country's welfare. In the mean time, I am much obliged to Trebatius for supplying you with an occasion of so freely laying open to me the amicable sentiments of your heart; as it affords me an additional reason for cultivating a friendship with one whom I have ever been disposed to esteem. Farewell.

LETTER XIV.

[A. U. 709.]

MARCUS BRUTUS AND CAIUS CASSIUS, PRÆTORS, *
TO MARK ANTONY, CONSUL.

If we were not persuaded of your honour and friendship, we should not trouble you with the present application ; which, in confidence of both, we doubt not of your receiving in the most favourable manner.

We are informed, that great numbers of the veteran troops are already arrived in Rome, and that many more are expected by the first of June. Our sentiments would be extremely changed, indeed, if we entertained any fears or suspicions with regard to yourself. However, as we resigned ourselves entirely to your direction, and, in compliance with your advice, not only published an edict, but wrote circular letters, in order to dismiss our friends, who

* They had been appointed prætors for the present year by Cæsar. The reader has already been informed, that Brutus and Cassius, finding it necessary, soon after the assassination of Cæsar, to withdraw from Rome, retired to a villa of the former at Lanuvium ; from whence this letter was probably written.

came to our assistance from the municipal towns, we may justly look upon ourselves as worthy of being admitted into a share of your councils; especially in an article wherein we are particularly concerned. It is our joint request, therefore, that you would explicitly acquaint us with your intentions, and whether you imagine we can possibly be safe amidst such a multitude of veteran troops, who have even some design, we are told, of replacing the altar* which was erected to Cæsar; a design, surely, which no one can wish may meet with your approbation, who has any regard to our credit, or security.† It has sufficiently appeared, that from the beginning of this affair, we have had a view to the public tranquillity, and have aimed at nothing more than the recovery of our common liberties. No man, except yourself, has it in his power to deceive us, because we never have trusted, nor ever will trust, any other; and, most certainly, you have too much integrity to betray the confidence we have reposed in you. Our friends, however, not-

* See p. 170, note.

† Because the suffering of divine honours to be paid to Cæsar, would necessarily impress the highest sentiments of him upon the minds of the populace, and consequently tend to incense them against those who were concerned in taking away his life.

withstanding that they have the same reliance upon your good faith, are greatly alarmed for our safety; as they think so large a body of veterans may much more easily be instigated to violent measures by ill-designing men, than they can be restrained by your influence and authority. We entreat you, therefore, to return us a full and satisfactory answer. To tell us, that you ordered these troops to march to Rome, as intending to move the senate, in June next, concerning their * affairs, is amusing us with a very idle and trifling reason; for, as you are assured that we shall not attempt to obstruct this † design, from what other quarter can you possibly suspect that it will be opposed? In a word, it cannot be thought that we are too anxious for our own preservation, when it is considered that no accident can happen to our persons without in-

* Antony's *pretended* reason for drawing together this body of veteran troops, was, in order to procure a ratification from the senate of those grants of lands which had been made to them by Cæsar as a reward of their services; but his *true* reason was to strengthen his hands against those who should attempt to oppose his measures.

† The conspirators had given public assurances to the veteran troops, that they would not endeavour to annul the grants which Cæsar had made in their favour.—*Dio.* p. 257.

volving the whole republic in the most dangerous commotions. Farewell.

LETTER XV.

[A. U. 709.]

TO CAIUS CASSIUS.

BELIEVE me, my Cassius, the republic is the perpetual subject of my meditations; or, to express the same thing in other words, you and Marcus Brutus are never out of my thoughts. It is upon you two, indeed, together with Decimus Brutus, that all our hopes depend. Mine are somewhat raised by the glorious conduct of Dolabella, in suppressing the late insurrection; * which had spread so wide, and gathered every day such additional strength, that it seemed to threaten destruction to the whole city. But this mob is now so totally quelled, that I think we have nothing farther to fear from any future attempt of the same kind. Many other fears, however, and very considerable ones too, still remain with us; and it entirely rests upon you, in conjunction with your illustrious associates, to remove them. Yet where to advise you

* See p. 170. note.

to begin for that purpose, I must acknowledge myself at a loss. To say truth, it is the tyrant alone, and not the tyranny, from which we seem to be delivered; for although the man indeed is destroyed, we still servilely maintain all his despotic ordinances. We do more; and, under the pretence of carrying his designs into execution, we approve of measures which even he himself would never have pursued;* and the misfortune is, that I know not where this extravagance will end. When I reflect on the laws that are enacted, on the immunities that are granted, on the immense largesses that are distributed, on the exiles that are recalled, and on the fictitious decrees that are published, the only

* A few days after Cæsar's death, Antony assembled the senate in the temple of Tellus, in order to take into consideration the state of public affairs. The result of their deliberations was, to decree a general act of oblivion of what was past, and to confirm the several nominations to magistracies, and other grants, which had been made by Cæsar. This was a very prudent and necessary measure, in order to preserve the public tranquillity; and it was principally procured by the authority and eloquence of Cicero. But Antony soon perverted it to his own ambitious purposes; for being appointed to inspect the papers of Cæsar, he forged some, and modelled others, as best suited his own designs; disposing of every thing as he thought proper, under the authority of this decree.—*Dio*, p. 250. 256.

effect that seems to have been produced by Cæsar's death, is, that it has extinguished the sense of our servitude, and the abhorrence of that detestable usurper; as all the disorders into which he threw the republic still continue. These are the evils, therefore, which it is incumbent upon you and your patriot coadjutors to redress; for, let not my friends imagine, that they have yet completed their work. The obligations, it is true, which the republic has already received from you, are far greater than I could have ventured to hope; still, however, her demands are not entirely satisfied; and she promises herself yet higher services from such brave and generous benefactors. You have revenged her injuries by the death of her oppressor; but you have done nothing more. For, tell me, what has she yet recovered of her former dignity and lustre? Does she not obey the will of that tyrant, now he is dead, whom she could not endure when living? And do we not, instead of repealing his public laws, authenticate even his private memorandums? You will tell me, perhaps, (and you may tell me with truth,) that I concurred in passing a decree for that purpose. It was in compliance, however, with public circumstances; a regard to which is of much consequence in political deliberations of every kind. But there are some, however, who have most immoderately and ungrateful-

ly abused the concessions we found it thus necessary to make.

I hope very speedily to discuss this and many other points with you in person. In the mean time, be persuaded, that the affection I have ever borne to my country, as well as my particular friendship to yourself, renders the advancement of your credit and esteem with the public extremely my concern. Farewell.

LETTER XVI.

[A. U. 709.]

TO OPIUS.*

THE sentiments and advice which your letter has so freely given me, in relation to my leaving Italy,† together with what you said to Atticus, in a late conversation upon this subject, have greatly contributed, he can bear me witness, to dispel those doubts that occurred on whichever side I viewed

* The MSS. vary in the name of the person to whom this letter is addressed; some writing it *Appius*, and others *Opius*. If the latter be the true reading, perhaps he is the same of whom some account has been given in Vol. III. p. 27, note.

† See p. 164, note.

this question. I have ever thought, indeed, that no man was more capable of forming a right judgment, nor more faithful in communicating it, than yourself; as, I am sure, I very particularly experienced in the beginning of the late civil wars. For when I consulted you in regard to my following Pompey, or remaining in Italy, your advice, I remember, was, that "I should act as my honour directed." This sufficiently discovered your opinion; and I could not but look with admiration on so remarkable an instance of your sincerity. For, notwithstanding your strong attachment to Cæsar, who, you had reason to think, would have been better pleased if I had pursued a different conduct; yet you rather chose I should act agreeably to my honour, than in conformity to his inclination. My friendship for you, however, did not take its rise from this period; for I was sensible that I enjoyed a share in your esteem long before the time of which I am speaking. I shall ever remember, indeed, the generous services you conferred both upon myself and my family, during the great misfortunes which I suffered in my exile; and the strict intimacy in which we conversed with each other after my return, as well as the sentiments which, upon all occasions, I professed to entertain of you, are circumstances which none who were inclined to observe them could possibly overlook. But you

gave me a most distinguishing proof of the good opinion you had conceived of my constancy and fidelity, by the unreserved resignation of your heart to me after the death of Cæsar. I should think myself, therefore, a disgrace to human nature, if I did not justify these your favourable sentiments, by every kind of good office in my power, as well as by the return of my warmest affection. Continue yours to me, my dear Oppius, I entreat you; a request, however, which I prefer more in compliance with the customary form, than as thinking it in the least necessary. I recommend all my affairs in general to your protection, and leave it to Atticus to inform you in what particular points I desire your services. When I shall be more at leisure, you may expect a longer letter. In the mean time take care of your health, as the most agreeable instance you can give me of your friendship. Farewell.

LETTER XVII.

[A. U. 709.]

TO TREBATIUS.

I AM the more enamoured with this city,* because I find you are much the favourite of every body in it. But I know not, in truth, where you are otherwise; and I should rather have told you, that even the absence of your freedman, Rufio, is no less regretted among them, than if he were a person of as much consequence as you and I. However, I by no means disapprove of your having called him from hence, in order to superintend the buildings you are carrying on in the Lupercal;† for, not-

* Cicero, after much debate with himself, concerning the voyage which he mentions in the preceding letter, at length fixed his resolution, and embarked. He sailed along the western coast of Italy, towards Rhegium; but came ashore every night, in order to lodge at the villa of some friend. He was in this manner pursuing his voyage into Greece, when he wrote the present letter from Velia, a sea-port town on the coast of Lucania.

† A range of buildings in Rome, so called from an ancient temple of the same name, which had been formerly erected upon that spot to the god Pan.—*Dion. Halicarn.* l. 24.

withstanding your house at Velia is altogether as agreeable as that which you have in Rome, yet I should prefer the latter to all the possessions you enjoy here. Nevertheless, if you should take the opinion of a man whose advice you seldom reject, you will not part with your patrimony on the banks of the noble Heles, nor forsake a villa which had once the honour of belonging to Papirius; an intention which the citizens of Velia are in some fear lest you should entertain. But although it be incommoded, indeed, by the great concourse of strangers who visit the adjoining grove; yet that objection may easily be removed, you know, by cutting down* this impertinent plantation; which will prove a very considerable advantage likewise both to your pocket and your prospect. To speak seriously, it is a great convenience, especially in such

* Groves were generally consecrated to some divinity, as this seems to have been, by the number of strangers who probably frequented it on a religious account. Instead of *lucum*, therefore, which is the reading adopted by Manutius, and followed in the translation, some of the commentators have thought it should be *lotum*; because if it were a consecrated grove, it could not be cut down without committing an act of impiety. But this objection is founded upon the mistake, that Cicero spoke in a serious sense, what he seems plainly to have intended in a ludicrous one.

distracted times as the present, to be possessed of an estate which affords you a refuge from Rome, in a pleasant and healthy situation, and in a place where you are so universally beloved. To these considerations, I will add, my dear Trebatius, that perhaps it may be for my advantage also that you should not part with this villa. But, whatever you may determine, take care both of yourself and my affairs; and expect to see me, if the gods permit, before the end of the year.

I have purloined from Sextius Fadius, one of Nico's disciples, a treatise which the latter has written concerning the pleasures of the palate. Agreeable physician! how easily will he make me a convert to his doctrine! Our friend, Bassus, was so jealous of this treasure, that he endeavoured to conceal it from me; but I imagine, by the freedom of your table indulgencies, that he has been less reserved in communicating the secrets of it to you. The wind has just now turned to a favourable point, so that I must bid you farewell.

Velia, July the 20th.

LETTER XVIII.

[A. U. 709.]

TO THE SAME.

You see the influence you have over me ; though, indeed, it is not greater than what you are justly entitled to, from that equal return of friendship you make to mine. I could not, therefore, be easy in the reflection, I will not say of having absolutely refused, but of not having complied, however, with the request you made me, when we were lately together. Accordingly, as soon as I set sail from Velia, I employed myself in drawing up the treatise you desired, upon the plan of Aristotle's topics ; * as, indeed, I could not look upon a city in which you are so generally beloved, without being reminded of my friend. I now send you the produce of my meditations ; which I have endeavoured to express with all the perspicuity that a subject

* The treatise here mentioned, is still extant among Cicero's works ; and appears to be a sort of epitome of what Aristotle had long before published upon the same subject. The principal design of it is, to point out the several sources from whence arguments upon every question may be derived.

of this nature will admit. Nevertheless, if some passages should appear dark, you must do me the justice to remember, that no science can be rendered perfectly intelligible without the assistance of a master to explain and apply its rules. To send you no farther, for an instance, than to your own profession, could a knowledge of the law be acquired merely from books? Undoubtedly it could not; for although the treatises which have been written upon that subject are extremely numerous, yet they are by no means, of themselves, sufficient instructors, without the help of some learned guide to enlighten their obscurities. However, with respect to the observations in the present performance, if you give them a frequent and attentive perusal, you will certainly be able to enter into their meaning; but the ready application of them can only be attained by repeated exercise. And in this exercise I shall not fail to engage you, if I should return safe into Italy, and find the republic in a state of repose. Farewell.

Rhegium, * July the 28th.

* A sea-port upon the western point of Calabria, opposite to Sicily. It is now called *Regio*.

LETTER XIX.

[A. U. 709.]

BRUTUS AND CASSIUS, PRÆTORS,* TO ANTONY, CONSUL.

THE letter we have received from you is altogether agreeable to your late contumelious and menacing edict, and by no means becoming *you* to have written to *us*. We have in no sort, Antony, given you any just provocation; nor could we have imagined, that you would look upon it as any thing extraordinary, if, invested as we are with the high authority of prætors, we thought proper, in a public manifesto, to signify our requests to the consul. But if it raises your indignation that we presumed to take this liberty as prætors, allow us to lament

* The prætors could not legally absent themselves from Rome for above ten days, unless they obtained a special dispensation from the senate for that purpose. Brutus and Cassius, therefore, not thinking it safe to trust themselves in the city, published a sort of manifesto, directed to Antony, as consul, requesting him to move the senate for this licence in their favour. Antony, instead of complying with their request, seems to have answered it by publishing a manifesto on his part, which was followed, likewise, by a private letter, that produced the present epistle.

that you should not indulge us in it, at least, as friends.

We receive it as an instance of your justice, that you deny ever having complained of our levying troops and contributions, and making applications to the armies, both at home and abroad, to rise in our defence; a charge, which we likewise disavow in every particular. We cannot but wonder, however, since you were silent upon this head, that you should be so little able to command yourself upon another, as to reproach us with the death of Cæsar.

We leave it to your own reflections to determine what sentiments it ought to create in us, that the prætors of Rome, in order to preserve the tranquillity and liberties of the commonwealth, cannot publish a manifesto, declaring their desire of retiring from the execution of their office, without being insulted by the consul. 'Tis in vain, however, that you would intimidate us by your arms; for it would ill become the spirit we have shown, to be discouraged by dangers of any kind. As little should Antony attempt to usurp an authority over those, to whom he is himself indebted for the liberty he enjoys. To the free and independent, the menaces of any man are perfectly impotent. Had we a design, therefore, of having recourse to arms, your letter would be altogether ineffectual to deter us from our purpose. But you are well convinced,

that no consideration can prevail with us to rekindle the flames of a civil war; and, perhaps, you artfully threw out these menaces, in order to persuade the world that our pacific measures are the effect, not of choice, but timidity.

To speak plainly our sentiments; we wish to see you raised to the highest honours, but to honours that are conferred by a free republic. It is our desire, likewise, not to engage with you in any contests; but we must add, that the possession of our liberties is of far higher value, in our esteem, than the enjoyment of your friendship. Well consider what you undertake, and how far you may be able to carry it into execution; reflecting, not how many years Cæsar was permitted to live, but how short a period he was suffered to reign.* In the mean while, we implore the gods to inspire you with such counsels as may tend to the advantage both of yourself, and of the commonwealth. But, should they prove otherwise, we wish that the consequence may be as little detrimental to your own

* Cæsar did not continue longer than five months in the peaceable enjoyment of his usurpation; for he returned to Rome, from the conquest of Pompey's sons in Spain, in the month of October 708, and was assassinated in the March following. *Vel. Paterc.* ii. 56.

interest, as shall be consistent with the dignity and safety of the republic.

August the 4th.

LETTER XX.

[A. U. 709.]

TO PLANCUS. *

I HAD left Rome, and was actually on my voyage to Greece, when I was recalled by the general

* Some general account of Plancus has already been given in Vol. III. p. 122, note. In the beginning of the present year he was appointed, by Cæsar, governor of the farther Gaul; where he now was, at the head of three legions. He is said, during his residence in that province, to have founded the city of Lyons. Upon the death of Cæsar, to whom he had been warmly attached, Cicero employed all his art to engage him on the side of the senate; and Plancus, after much hesitation, at length declared himself accordingly: But this declaration seems to have been entirely the effect of a belief, that the rupture between Antony and the senate was upon the point of being accommodated. It is certain, at least, that it was not sincere; for Plancus, soon afterwards, betrayed the cause he had thus professed to support, and went over with his troops to Antony.—*Pigh. Annal.* ii. 465. *Senec. Ep.* 91. *Vel. Paterc.* ii. 63.— See the last note on Let. 18. of Book xv.

voice of the republic ; * but the conduct of Marc Antony, ever since my return, has not permitted me to enjoy a moment of repose. The ferocity,

* The principal motive of Cicero's intended voyage into Greece, was in order to avoid the danger of taking part in a civil war, which he apprehended would soon break out between Antony and young Pompey ; the latter being expected from Spain, at the head of a considerable army. But, as his leaving Italy at so critical and important a conjuncture might justly expose him to the censure of unworthily deserting the republic, he was long and greatly embarrassed between the desire of preserving his character on the one side, and of securing his person on the other ; the two points which seem, throughout his whole life, to have held him in perpetual suspense. However, he at length embarked ; but he no sooner sailed, than he repented, as usual, of the step he had taken. Nevertheless, he pursued his voyage, and arrived in Sicily, from whence he proposed to stretch over into Greece ; but, in attempting this passage, he was blown back by contrary winds on the coast of Italy. Upon his going ashore, in order to refresh himself, he was informed, by some of the principal inhabitants of that part of the country who were just arrived from Rome, that there were great hopes Antony would accommodate affairs to the general satisfaction of all parties. This news was followed by a letter from Atticus, pressing him to renounce his intended voyage, as also by an interview with Brutus, who likewise expressed his disapprobation of that scheme. Upon these considerations, therefore, he gave up all farther thoughts of Greece, and immediately returned to Rome.—*Vid. Ad Att. xiv. 13, 22. xv. 19, 20, 21, 33. xvi. 6, 7.*

(for to call it pride would be imputing a vice to him which is nothing uncommon,) the ferocity of his temper is so excessive, that he cannot bear a word, or even a look, which is animated with the least spirit of liberty. It is this that fills my heart with a thousand disquietudes; but disquietudes, in which my own preservation is by no means concerned. No, my friend, I have nothing farther to wish with respect to myself; whether I consider the years to which I am arrived,* the actions that I have performed, or the glory (if that may be mentioned as of any value in the account) with which they have been crowned. All my anxiety is for our country alone; and the more so, my dear Plancus, as the time appointed for your succession to the consular office† is so remote, that it is rather to be wished than expected, that we should be able to preserve our liberties so long alive. What rational hopes, indeed, can possibly be entertained, where a commonwealth is totally oppressed by the arms of the most violent and outrageous of men;

* Cicero was, at this time, in his 63d year.

† Plancus was in the number of those whom Cæsar had named to the consulate, in that general designation of magistrates which he made a short time before his death. But as Plancus stood last in the list, his turn was not to commence till the year 711.

where neither the senate nor the people have any authority ; where neither laws nor justice prevail ; and, in one word, where there is not the least trace or shadow of civil government remaining ? But as you receive, I imagine, the public accounts of what is transacted amongst us, I need not descend into a detail of particulars. Let me rather, in consequence of that affection I bear you, and which has been still increasing from our earliest youth ; let me rather remind and exhort you, to turn all your thoughts and cares towards the republic. If it should not be utterly destroyed ere you enter upon the consular office, it may, without difficulty, be steered right. Though I will add, that much vigilance, as well as great good fortune, must concur, in order to preserve it to that desirable period. But I hope we may see you here, somewhat before that time shall arrive. Meanwhile, besides the inducements that arise to me from my regard to the well-being of the republic, you may be assured, that, from my particular attachment likewise to yourself, I shall exert my utmost efforts for the advancement of your credit and honours. By these means, I shall have the satisfaction to discharge, at once, the duties I owe both to my country and to my friend ; to that country, which is the object of my warmest affections, and to that friend whose amity I would most religiously cultivate.

I am extremely rejoiced, though by no means surprised, to find that you treat Furnius* agreeably to his rank and merit. Be assured, that whatever favours you shall think proper to confer upon him, I shall consider them as so many immediate instances of your regard to myself. Farewell.

LETTER XXI.

[A. U. 709.]

DECIMUS BRUTUS, CONSUL ELECT,† TO CICERO.

If I entertained the least doubt of your inclinations to serve me, I should be extremely copious in

* He was lieutenant to Plancus in Gaul.

† Decimus Brutus was nominated by Cæsar to be colleague with Plancus; of whose appointment to the consular office, mention has been made in the preceding epistle, p. 115, note. Soon after the rest of the conspirators found it necessary to leave Rome, Decimus withdrew into Cisalpine Gaul, in order to take possession of that province which had been allotted to him by Cæsar, and to put himself in a posture of defence against the attempts which Antony was meditating. Shortly after his arrival in that province, he employed his troops in an expedition against certain inhabitants of the neighbouring mountains; and having happily executed this scheme, he wrote the following letter to request Cicero's suffrage in procuring him those

my solicitations for that purpose; but I have strongly persuaded myself, that my interest is already a part of your care.

I led my army against the most interior inhabitants of the Alps, not so much from an ambition of being saluted with the title of *Imperator*,* as in order to comply with the martial spirit of my troops, and to strengthen their attachment to our cause. In both these views, I have, I think, succeeded; as the soldiers have had an opportunity, by this measure, of experiencing the courage and the generosity of their general. I was engaged with the most warlike of these people; and have taken and destroyed great numbers of their forts. In short, I thought the action sufficiently considerable to send an account of it to the senate. I hope, therefore, you will support my pretensions with your suffrage, as it will, at the same time, be greatly contributing to the credit of the common cause. Farewell.

distinctions which the senate usually decreed to their successful generals.

* See Vol. I. p. 1, note.

LETTER XXII.

[A. U. 709.]

TO DECIMUS BRUTUS, CONSUL ELECT.

It is of much consequence to the success of this epistle, whether it reaches you in an anxious or an easy hour. Accordingly, I have directed the bearer to watch the favourable moment of delivering it into your hands; as there is a time, my friend, when a letter, no less than a visit, may prove extremely unseasonable. But, if he should observe the caution I have enjoined him, and this should find you, as I hope it will, in a state of mind perfectly serene and undisturbed, I doubt not of your ready compliance with the request I am going to make.

Lucius Lamia offers himself as a candidate at the ensuing election of prætors. There is no man with whom I live in an equal degree of familiarity; as we are intimately, indeed, united by a long acquaintance. But what greatly likewise recommends him to me is, that nothing affords me more entertainment than his company. To this, I must add the infinite obligations I received from him in my affair with Clodius. He was, at that time, at the head of the equestrian order; and he entered with so much spirit into my cause, that the consul,

Gabinus, commanded him to withdraw from Rome, an indignity never offered before to any citizen of the republic. As the world has not forgotten what he thus suffered upon my account, I am sure, it would be the highest reproach upon my character, if I did not remember it myself; and therefore, my dear friend, be well assured, that the good or ill success of Lamia, in his present pursuit, will no less sensibly affect me, than if I were personally concerned. Notwithstanding, therefore, the illustrious character which Lamia bears, together with the great popularity he has acquired, by the magnificence of the games he exhibited when he was ædile, yet I am labouring with as much assiduity to promote his interest, as if he had none of these advantages to recommend him. If, then, I possess that share in your affection, which I am well persuaded I enjoy, let me entreat you to write to Lupus to secure the votes of those equestrian centuries, over which you bear an unlimited sway. But not to detain you with a multiplicity of words, I will conclude all with most sincerely assuring you, that, although there is nothing, my dear Brutus, which I have not reason to expect from your friendship, yet you can in no instance more effectually oblige me, than by complying with my present request. Farewell.

LETTER XXIII.

[A. U. 709.]

TO THE SAME.*

THERE is none of my friends with whom I live in so strict an intimacy as with Lamia. To say that I am much indebted to his good offices, would not be speaking of them in the terms they deserve; for the truth is, (and it is a truth of which the whole republic is sensible,) he has conferred upon me the highest and most generous obligations. Lamia, after having passed through the office of ædile with the greatest splendour and magnificence, now offers himself as a candidate for the prætorship; and it is universally acknowledged, that he wants neither interest nor dignity to support his pretensions. However, the opposition he is likely to meet with from his competitors is so strong, that I have many fears for the event; and, therefore, think myself obliged to be his general solicitor upon this occasion. I well know how much it is in your power to serve me in this affair, and have no doubt of your inclination.

* This letter seems to have been a kind of duplicate of the former, as it is written to the same person, and upon the same occasion.

Be assured, then, my dear Brutus, that you cannot more sensibly oblige me than by assisting Lamia in his present pursuit; and it is with all the warmth of my heart, that I entreat you to exert your utmost interest for that purpose. Farewell,

LETTER XXIV.

[A. U. 709.]

TO CAIUS CASSIUS.

It gives me great pleasure to find, that my late speech * has received your approbation. If I could more frequently enforce the same sentiments, the liberties of the republic might easily be recovered. But that far more desperate and detestable scoundrel † than he, ‡ at whose death you said, “ The

* Upon Cicero's return to Rome, (see p. 114, note,) he received a summons from Antony to attend a meeting of the senate, which was to be holden the next morning; but, as the business of this meeting was to decree certain divine honours to the memory of Cæsar, our author excused himself from being present. The following day, however, Antony being absent, Cicero ventured to appear in the senate, when he delivered the speech to which he here alludes, and which is the first of those that are called his *Philippics*. See *Life of Cic.* iii. 81.

† Antony.

‡ Cæsar.

worst of all villains is expired," is watching for a pretence to begin his murderous purposes : and his single view, in charging me with having advised the killing of Cæsar, is merely to excite the veteran soldiers against my life. But this is a danger which I am not afraid to hazard, since he gives me a share with you in the honour of that glorious deed. Hence it is, however, that neither Piso, who first ventured to inveigh against the measures of Antony, nor myself, who made a speech* to the same purpose about a month afterwards, nor Publius Servilius, who followed my example, can any of us appear with safety in the senate. For this inhuman gladiator has evidently a design upon our lives ; and he hoped to have rendered me the first victim of his cruel vengeance. With this sanguinary view, he entered the senate on the 19th of September, having several days before retired to the villa of Metellus, in order to prepare an inflammatory speech against me.† But who shall reconcile the silent meditations of

* The speech mentioned in the preceding note.

† It was in answer to this speech that Cicero composed his second Philippic, which, however, he did not deliver ; for, by the advice of his friends, he absented himself from this meeting of the senate, as they did not think it safe for him to be present. *Manut.*

eloquence with the noisy revels of lewdness and debauchery? Accordingly, it was the opinion of all his audience, (as I have already, I believe, mentioned to you in a former letter,) that he could not so properly be said to have delivered a speech, as to have discharged, with his usual indecency, the horrid fumes of his scandalous intemperance.

You are persuaded, you tell me, that my credit and eloquence will be able to produce some good effect. And some, indeed, they have produced, considering the sad situation of our affairs. They have rendered the people sensible, that there are three persons of consular rank, who, because they are in the interest of the republic, and have spoken their sentiments in the senate with freedom, cannot attend that assembly without the danger of being assassinated. And this is all the good you are to expect from my oratory.

A certain relation of yours* is so captivated with his new alliance, that he no longer concerns himself in the success of your games; but, on the contrary, is mortified to the last degree at those peals of applause with which your brother was distin-

* Lepidus is supposed to be the person here meant, as he was related to Cassius by his own marriage, and had lately married his son to Antony's daughter.

guished.* Another of your family † has been softened by some grants, which it is pretended that Cæsar had designed to confer upon him. This, however, might be borne with patience; but is it not utterly beyond endurance, that there should be a man who dares openly avow, that he supports the measures of that scoundrel Antony, with the hopes that his son will be chosen consul, when you and Brutus are entitled to be candidates for that office? As to our friend, Lucius Cotta, a fatal despair (for so he terms it himself) has almost entirely driven him from the senate. Lucius Cæsar, that firm and excellent patriot, is prevented from coming thither by his ill state of health; and Servius Sulpicius, who is a true friend to the cause of liberty, and whose authority might be of infinite service in the present conjuncture, is unhappily absent from Rome. After having mentioned these, I must take the liberty to say, that I cannot add any others, excepting the consuls elect, who may be justly deemed as well-wishers to

* Brutus and Cassius were obliged, as prætors, to exhibit certain games in honour of Apollo, with which the public were annually entertained on the 8d of July; but, as they had withdrawn themselves from Rome, these games were conducted by the brother of Cassius.

† It is not known to whom Cicero alludes in this place, nor in the period immediately following.

the republic. The truth is, these are the only persons upon whose advice and authority the commonwealth can depend. And small, indeed, would their number be, even in the best of times; how unequal, then, must their strength be found to combat against the worst? All our hopes, therefore, rest entirely upon you and Brutus; I mean, if you have not withdrawn from us with a view only to your own preservation; for, if that should be the case, we have nothing, alas! to hope, either from Brutus or from you: but if, on the contrary, you are forming some glorious enterprise, worthy of your exalted characters, I doubt not that the republic, by your assistance, will soon recover her liberties; and I have only to wish, that I may not be destroyed ere that happy day shall arrive. In the mean time, my best services neither are, nor shall be, wanting to your family; and whether they should apply to me for that purpose or not, I shall never fail to give them proofs of my friendship towards you. Farewell.

LETTER XXV.

[A. U. 709.]

TO PLANCUS.

AGREEABLY to the friendship which subsists between us, my services should not have been wanting to advance your dignities,* if I could have been present in the senate consistently with my honour, or my safety. But no man can freely deliver his opinion in that assembly, without being exposed to the violences of a military force, that are licensed to commit their outrages with full impunity; and it would ill become my rank and character to speak upon public affairs, in a place where I am more attentively observed, and more closely surrounded by soldiers than by senators. In any instance of private concern, my best offices shall not be wanting to you; nor shall they, indeed, even in those of a public nature, whatever hazard I may run, where my appearance is absolutely necessary to promote your interest: but, where it may be equally advanced without my concurrence, suffer me, I entreat

* The occasion on which Plancus had applied to Cicero, for his services in the senate, does not appear.

you, to pay a proper regard to my own dignity and preservation. Farewell.

LETTER XXVI.

[A. U. 709.]

TO CAIUS CASSIUS.

THE malignant spirit of your friend * breaks out every day with greater and more open violence. To instance, in the first place, the statue which he has lately erected near the rostrum to Cæsar, under which he has inscribed, TO THE EXCELLENT FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY; intimating, that you and your heroic associates are to be considered not only as assassins, but parricides. In which number I am likewise included; for this outrageous man represents me as the principal adviser and promoter of your most glorious enterprise. Would to heaven the charge were true! for, had I been a party in your councils, I should have put it out of his power thus to perplex and embarrass our affairs.† But this was

* Antony.

† Cicero frequently reproaches the conspirators with having committed a capital mistake in sparing Antony, when they destroyed Cæsar; an error which our author would have prevented, it seems, had they admitted him into

a point which depended upon yourselves to determine; and since the opportunity is now over, I can only wish that I were capable of giving you any effectual advice. But the truth is, I am utterly at a loss in what manner to act myself; for to what purpose is resistance, where one cannot oppose force by force?

It is evidently the intent of Cæsar's party to revenge his death. And accordingly, Antony, being on the 2d of October last presented to the people by Canutius,* mentioned the generous deliverers of our country in terms that traitors alone deserve. He scrupled not to assert likewise, that you had acted

their councils. But it may be affirmed, (and upon the authority of Cicero himself,) that nothing could have been more unjustifiable than to have rendered Antony a joint victim with Cæsar. It is true, there was an ancient law subsisting, by which every one was authorised to lift up his sword against the man who should discover any designs of invading the public liberties. But Antony was so far from having given indications of this kind at Cæsar's death, that Cicero, in a letter written to Atticus soon afterwards, tells him, he looked upon Antony as a man too much devoted to the indulgencies of a luxurious life, to be inclined to form any schemes destructive of the public repose: "*Quem quidem ego (says he,) epularum magis arbitror rationem habere, quam quidquam mali cogitare.*" Plut. in Vit. Publicol. Ad. Att. vi. 3.

* He was one of the tribunes for the present year.

entirely by my advice; and that Canutius, also, was under the same influence. He had the mortification, however, to leave the rostrum with great disgrace. In a word, you may judge what are the designs of this faction, by their having seized the appointments of your lieutenant; † for does not their conduct, in this instance, sufficiently declare, that they considered this money as going to be remitted to a public enemy? Wretched condition indeed! that we, who scorned to submit to a master, should more ignobly crouch to one of our fellow slaves! Nevertheless, I am still inclined to flatter myself, that we are not quite deprived of all hopes of being delivered by your heroic efforts. But where, then, let me ask, are your troops? And with this question I will conclude my letter, as I had rather leave the rest to be suggested by your own reflections than by mine. Farewell.

† As proconsul of Syria, to which province Camius was, probably, on his way when this letter was written.

LETTER XXVII.

[A. U. 709.]

TO CORNIFICIUS.

STRATORIUS has given me an ample account of the sad situation of affairs in your province.* Oh! my friend, what insufferable outrages are committed in every part of the Roman dominions! But those which have been offered to yourself are so much the less to be borne, as they are aggravated by the superior veneration which is due to your illustrious rank and character. Notwithstanding, therefore, that your great and generous spirit may incline you to look upon these insults with calmness, and perhaps with indifference, yet you ought by no means to suffer them to pass unchastised.

The news of Rome, I well know, is regularly transmitted to you, otherwise I would take upon myself to be your informer; and particularly of the late attempt of Octavius.† The fact laid to his

* Of Africa. See p. 135, note.

† "Octavius, in order to maintain by stratagem what he could not gain by force, formed a design against Antony's life, and actually provided certain slaves to assassinate him, who were discovered and seized with their poignards, in Antony's house." Thus far Dr Middleton, who might have

charge is considered, by the populace, as a mere fiction of Antony, in order to gain a pretence to seize upon the young man's estate. But the more penetrating and better sort, not only credit the report, but highly approve the design. Indeed, the hopes of the republic are greatly turned towards Octavius; as there is nothing which his generous thirst of glory, it is believed, will not animate him to perform. My friend Antony, at the same time, is so sensible of his being generally detested, that, although he discovered the assassins in his house, yet he would not venture to make the affair public. He set out for Brundisium on the 9th of October, in order to meet the four legions * that are returning from Macedonia: he hopes, by bribing them over

added, (as a learned critic has remarked,) that Cicero himself, together with his nephew Quintus, were charged by Antony with being accomplices in this plot; and that the charge appears to have been true; for though, in the present letter, indeed, Cicero talks of this affair, as if he was no otherwise acquainted with it than by common report, yet, in a speech which he afterwards made in the senate, when Antony had retired into Gaul, taking notice of the above-mentioned accusation, he avows and glories in the charge. *Life of Cic.* iii. 89. *Tunstal's Observ. on the Letters between Cic. and Brut.* p. 142. *Philip.* iii. 7. 8.

* These were part of that army which Cæsar intended to lead against the Parthians, and which he had sent before him into Macedonia to wait his arrival for that purpose.

to his interest, to conduct them to Rome, and with their assistance to fix the yoke upon our necks. Thus, you see the situation of the republic! if a republic, indeed, it may with propriety be called, where all is in a state of intestine war. I frequently lament your fortune, in having been born so late, as never to have tasted the happiness of living in a sound and well-regulated commonwealth. You remember the time, however, when there was a prospect, at least, of better days; but now that prospect is no more! How, in truth, should it any longer subsist, after Antony dared to declare, in a general assembly of the people, that "Canutius affected to rank himself with those * who could never appear in Rome, so long as he preserved his life and authority." But thanks to philosophy for having taught me to endure this, and every other mortification which human nature can possibly suffer; and indeed, it has not only cured me of all my disquietudes, but armed my breast against every future assault of fortune. And let me advise you to fortify yourself with the same resolution, in the full persuasion, that nothing but guilt deserves to be considered as a real evil. But these are reflections which you know much better how to make than I can instruct you.

* The conspirators.

Stratorius has always been highly in my esteem; but he has rendered himself more particularly so, by the great diligence, fidelity, and judgment, he discovers in the management of your affairs. Take care of your health, as the most pleasing instance you can give me of your friendship. Farewell.

LETTER XXVIII.

[A. U. 709.]

TO THE SAME.

My very intimate and most accomplished friend, Caius Anicius, has obtained a titular legation * into Africa, in order to transact some business relating to his private concerns in that province. Let me, therefore, entreat your best offices to him upon all occasions, and that you would give him your assistance, for the more easy and expeditious dispatch of his affairs. But, above all, (as it is superior to all in my friend's estimation,) I recommend the dignity of his rank and character to your peculiar regard; and accordingly, I make it my request, that you would appoint lictors to attend him. This is a compliment which I always spontaneously paid, during my own proconsulate, to those of senatorial

* See p. 161, note.

rank, who came into my province, and which I have ever likewise myself received upon the same occasions; as, indeed, it is what I have both heard and observed to have been generally practised by proconsuls of the greatest distinction. You will act, then, in the same manner, my dear Cornificius, in the present instance, if I have any share in your affection; and in all other respects will consult the honour and interest of my friend, assuring yourself, that you cannot confer upon me a more acceptable service. Farewell.

LETTER XXIX.

[A. U. 709.]

TO TIRO.

I SEE into your scheme: you have a design, that *your* letters, as well as mine,* should make their

* It appears from an epistle to Atticus, that Cicero had formed a design, about this time, of publishing a collection of his letters. It is probable, however, that the greater part of those which are now extant were sent into the world at different times, and by different hands, after his decease; as there are many of them which one can scarce suppose, that either himself, or any friend who had a regard to his memory, would have suffered to come abroad. *Vid. Ad Att. xvi. 5.*

appearance in public. But tell me, how happened it, that you, who are wont to be the supreme judge and critic of my writings, should be guilty of so inaccurate an expression, as to desire me "*faithfully*" to preserve my health?" That adverb surely can have no business there, as its proper employment is to attend upon some word that imports a moral obligation. In figurative language, its use, indeed, is various, as it may be applied even to inanimate and intellectual objects, provided (as Theophrastus observes) the metaphor be not too bold and unnatural. But we will reserve this for a conversation when we meet.

Demetrius has been here; but I had the address to avoid both him and his retinue. Doubtless, you

* It is impossible, perhaps, to determine precisely wherein the impropriety of this expression consisted; as it does not appear from the original whether Tiro spoke of his own health or of Cicero's. In the translation, however, it is applied to the latter, as it seems to render the expression less critically just; for, as Tiro was Cicero's slave, the care of his health was a duty which the former owed to the latter, as a necessary means of enabling him to perform those services to which Cicero had a right. Accordingly, therefore, to our author's own remark, concerning the literal use of the word *fidelis*, Tiro might very properly have applied it in the sense here mentioned. But there was no such duty owing from the master to the slave, and conse-

will regret, that you lost the opportunity of seeing him. It is an opportunity, however, which you may still recover; for he returns, it seems, to-morrow. Accordingly, I purpose to leave this place the next morning.

I am extremely uneasy about your health, and entreat you not to omit any means, that may contribute to its re-establishment. It is thus that you will render me insensible of your absence, and abundantly discharge all the services I require at your hands.

I am obliged to your good offices towards Cuspius; for I greatly interest myself in the success of his affairs. Adieu.

LETTER XXX.

[A. U. 709.]

TO CORNIFICIUS.

QUINTUS TURIUS, who was an African merchant of great probity, as well as of an honourable family, is lately dead. He has appointed Cneius Saturninus, Sextus Aufidius, and Caius Anneius, together with Quintus Considius Gallus, Lucius Servilius

quently Tiro could not, in strict propriety, have applied it to Cicero.

Posthumus, and Caius Rubellius, all of them men of the same worthy character as himself, his joint heirs. I find you have already treated them in so generous a manner, that they have more occasion for my acknowledgments to you than my recommendation; and indeed, the favours they gratefully profess to have received from your hands, are more considerable than I should have ventured perhaps to request. Nevertheless, as I perfectly well know the regard you pay to my recommendation, I will take courage, and entreat you to add to those services which you have already, without my solicitation so liberally conferred upon them. But what I am particularly to desire is, that you would not suffer Eros Turius, the testator's freedman, to continue to embezzle his late patron's effects. In every other instance also, I recommend their interest to your protection, assuring you, that you will receive much satisfaction from the regard and attachment of these my illustrious friends. Again and again, therefore, I very earnestly recommend them to your good offices. Farewell.

LETTER XXXI.

[A. U. 709.]

TO DECIMUS BRUTUS, CONSUL-ELECT.

WHEN our friend Lupus arrived with your dispatches, I had retired from Rome* to a place where I thought I could be most secure from danger. For this reason, notwithstanding he took care that your letter† should be delivered into my hands, and continued some days in the city, yet he returned without receiving my answer. However, I came back hither on the 9th of this month, ‡ when I immediately, as my first and principal concern, paid a visit to Pansa, § from whom I had the satisfaction of hearing such an account of you as was most

* Soon after Cicero's late return to Rome, (see p. 214. note,) he came to an open rupture with Antony. He found it necessary, therefore, for his security, to remove from the city to some of his villas near Naples.—*Life of Cic.* iii. 87.

† The same, probably, which stands the 21st in the present Book, p. 217.

‡ December. Antony had just before left Rome, in order to march his army into Cisalpine Gaul. Upon the news of this retreat, Cicero immediately returned to the city.—*Life of Cic.* iii. 98.

§ Consul elect for the ensuing year.

agreeable to my wishes. As you wanted not any exhortations to engage you in the noblest enterprise * that stands recorded in history ; so I am persuaded they are altogether unnecessary in the present conjuncture. It may not be improper, nevertheless, just to intimate, that the whole expectations of the Roman people, and all their hopes of liberty, are entirely fixed upon you. If you constantly bear in mind (what I well know is ever in your thoughts) the glorious part you have already achieved, most undoubtedly you can never forget how much there still remains for you to perform. In fact, should that man to whom I always declared myself a friend, till he openly and forwardly took up arms against the republic, should Antony possess himself of your province, † I see not the least possibility of our preservation. I join my earnest intercessions, therefore, with those of the whole republic, that you would finish what you have so happily begun, and deliver us for ever from the tyranny of a despotic government. This patriot-task belongs particularly to yourself ; and Rome, or, to speak more properly, every nation throughout the world, not only expects, but requires, their deliverance at your hands. But I am sensible (as I have

* The killing of Cæsar.

† Cisalpine Gaul.

already said) that you need no exhortations to animate you for this purpose. I will spare my admonitions, therefore, and rather assure you, (what indeed is more properly my part,) that my most zealous and active services shall always be exerted for your interest. Be well persuaded, then, that, not only for the sake of the republic, which is dearer to me than my life, but from my particular regard likewise to yourself, I shall omit no opportunity of forwarding your glorious designs, and of promoting those honours you so justly deserve. Farewell.

LETTER XXXII.

[A. U. 709.]

TO CORNIFICIUS.

THERE is no man that cultivates my friendship with greater marks of esteem than Sextus Aufidius; nor is there any of equestrian rank who bears a more distinguished character. The strictness of his morals is so happily tempered with the sweetness of his disposition, that he unites the severest virtue with the easiest and most engaging address. I recommend his affairs in Africa to you, with the utmost warmth and sincerity of my heart. You will extremely oblige me, therefore, by shewing him that you pay the highest regard to my recommen-

dation ; and I very earnestly entreat you, my dear Cornificius, to comply with this request. Fare-
ell.

LETTER XXXIII.

[A. U. 709.]

TO DECIMUS BRUTUS, CONSUL-ELECT.

MARCUS SEIUS has, I suppose, informed you what my sentiments were at the conference which Lupus held at my house with Libo, your relation Servilius, and myself ; as he was present during the consultation. And, though Greceius immediately followed him, he can give you an account of all that passed after Seius set out. *

The grand and capital point, which I could wish you to be well convinced of, and ever to bear in your mind, is, that in acting for the security of our common liberties, you ought, by no means, to wait the sanction of the senate ; as that assembly is not yet sufficiently free and uncontrolled in its deliber-

* The principal intent of this consultation seems to have been to determine, whether Decimus Brutus should venture, without the express sanction of the senate, to act offensively against Antony ; who was, at this time, on his march to dispossess Brutus of Cisalpine Gaul.

ations. To conduct yourself by a contrary principle, would be to condemn the first glorious steps you took for the deliverance of the commonwealth, and which were so much the more illustrious, as they were unsupported by the formal suffrage of public authority. It would be to declare, that the measures of young Cæsar are rash and ill-considered; who, in the same unauthorised manner, has undertaken the important cause of the commonwealth.* In a word, it would be to show the world, that you thought those brave and worthy veterans your fellow-soldiers, together with the fourth and martial legions,† had judged and acted irrationally, in deeming their consul an enemy to his country, and consecrating their arms to the service of

* When Antony set out for Brundisium, in order to meet the legions which were returning from Macedonia, as has been related in the 27th Letter of this Book, Octavius went amongst those veteran soldiers, to whom Cæsar had granted settlements in Campania. From these he drew together, at his own expence, and by his private authority, a very considerable body of troops to oppose Antony, if he had thought proper to have made any attempts upon Rome with the Macedonian legions.—*Philip. ii. 2. 12. Ad Att. xvi. 8.*

† The Roman legions were originally named according to the order in which they were raised, as the *first*, the *second*, &c. But as those legions which were occasionally

the republic.* To pursue measures which are agreeable to the general sense of the senate, may be well considered as acting under their express authority; when it is fear alone that restrains them from signifying their approbation in a formal manner. In fine, you can no longer hesitate, whether you should be guided by the principle I am recommending, as you have in two strong instances been governed by it already; first, on the ides of March, and lately when you raised your troops. Upon the whole, then, you ought to be both disposed and prepared to act, not merely as you shall be commanded, but in such a manner as to render your achievements the subject of universal admiration and applause. Farewell.

raised in the provinces, were distinguished, likewise, in the same manner, it was usual to add to this numeral designation some other, for the sake of avoiding confusion. This latter denomination was generally taken either from the country in which they served, as the *legio Parthica*, or from the name of the general who levied them, as the *legio Augusta*; or from the name of some divinity, as in the present instance, the *legio Martia*.—*Rosin. de Antiq. Rom.* p. 966.

* These two legions (part of those which arrived from Macedonia) refused the offers which Antony made to them at Brundisium, and afterwards joined themselves with Octavius.—*Ad Att.* xvi. 8. *Philip.* iii. 3.

LETTER XXXIV.

[A. U. 709.]

TO THE SAME.

OUR friend Lupus very punctually delivered your commands and your letter to me, the next morning after his arrival in Rome; which was in six days after his leaving Mutina.* I cannot but consider you as recommending my own honours to my protection, when you request me to be the guardian of yours; for, be assured, they are equally my concern. It will give me great pleasure, therefore, to find, that you doubt not of my promoting them, upon every occasion, to the best of my zeal and judgment. Accordingly, although I had purposed not to appear in the senate before the first of January next, yet the tribunes of the people, having on that very day on which your manifesto† was

* A city in Cisalpine Gaul, where Decimus Brutus was shortly afterwards besieged by Antony. It is now called *Modena*.

† The purport of this manifesto of Decimus Brutus, was to declare his resolution of endeavouring to preserve the province of Cisalpine Gaul, over which he presided, in its allegiance to the republic.—*Philip*. iii. 4.

published, issued out a proclamation for a meeting of the senate on the 20th of this month,* in order to move that a guard might be appointed for the security of the consuls elect; † my affection towards you induced me to change my resolution, and I determined to attend. I thought indeed it would be a most unpardonable omission, if the senate should be holden without taking notice of your inestimable services to the republic, as it unquestionably would have been if I had not attended; or that I should not be present to support any decree that might happen to be proposed for the advancement of your honours. For this reason I came early into the senate, and my presence brought together a great number of the members. I will leave it to your other friends to inform you what I there said to your advantage; as well as of the speech which I afterwards made to the same purpose, in a very numerous assembly of the people. ‡ In the mean time, let me entreat you to believe, that I shall

* December.

† Hirtius and Pansa.

‡ These two speeches are the third, and fourth of the Philippics. The senate, amongst other decrees, which they passed upon this occasion, approved and ratified the measures which Decimus Brutus had taken in Cisalpine Gaul for the defence of that province.—*Philip. iv. 4.*

most zealously embrace every opportunity of contributing to the increase of those dignities you already possess; and although I am sensible I shall meet with many rivals in my good offices for this purpose, yet I will venture to claim the first rank in that honourable list. Farewell.

LETTER XXXV.

[A. U. 709.]

TO CORNIFICIUS.

I AM waging war here against that most iniquitous of all sanguinary ruffians, my colleague* Antony; but by no means, however, upon equal terms; as I have nothing but my tongue to oppose to his arms. He ventured, in a speech which he lately made to the people, to throw out some bitter invectives against you. But his insolence did not pass unchastised; and he shall have still farther reason to remember, against whom it is that he has thus pointed his injurious attacks. But as your other friends, I imagine, supply you with accounts of our transactions, I should rather inform you what turn affairs are likely to take; and indeed it is a point

* Antony and Cicero were colleagues as members of the college of Augurs.

of no very difficult conjecture. The republic labours under a total oppression; her friends are without a leader, and our glorious tyrannicides are dispersed into different and distant quarters. Pansa means well to the commonwealth, and delivers his sentiments with great spirit and freedom. Hirtius recovers but slowly;* and, in truth, I know not what to think of him. Our only hope is, that the people at last will be awakened from their lethargy, and act with a spirit becoming the descendants of their heroic ancestors. For myself, at least, I will never be wanting to my country; and whatever misfortune may attend the commonwealth, after I have exerted my best efforts to prevent it, I shall bear it with perfect equanimity. You may depend, likewise, upon my supporting you in your rank and dignities, to the utmost of my power. Accordingly, in an assembly of the senate, which was holden on the 20th of this month,† I proposed, (among other necessary and important articles,

* Pansa and Hirtius, as has already been noted, were consuls elect for the approaching year. The latter, about this time, was attacked by a most dangerous sickness; and his health was esteemed of so much importance, at this juncture, to the commonwealth, that public vows were put up for his recovery.—*Philip. vii. 4.*

† December.

which I carried by a great majority,) that the present proconsuls should be continued in their respective governments; and that they should be ordered not to resign them into other hands than those which the senate should appoint. I made this motion, not only as thinking it highly expedient for the interest of the republic, but with a particular view also of preserving you in your provincial command. * Let me exhort you, then, for the sake of our country, and let me conjure you by your regard to myself, not to suffer any man to usurp the least part of your authority; but, in every instance, to maintain the dignity of your rank and character, as a possession which nothing can countervail.

To deal with you agreeably to that sincerity which our friendship requires, I must tell you, that all the world would have highly applauded your conduct, if you had complied with my advice in regard to Sempronius. But the affair is now over; and in itself, indeed, it was a matter of no great importance. It is of the utmost, however, that you

* Antony, a short time before he left Rome in order to march against Decimus Brutus, had procured an illegal distribution of the provinces among his friends; by which Caius Calvisius was appointed to succeed Cornificius in Africa.—*Philip. iii. Pigh. Annal. ii. p. 465.*

should employ, as I hope you will, every possible mean to retain your province in its allegiance. I would add more, but your courier presses me to dispatch; I must entreat you, therefore, to make my excuses to Cherippus, for not writing to him by this opportunity. Farewell.

LETTER XXXVI.

[A. U. 709.]

QUINTUS CICERO TO TIRO.

YOUR letter brought with it a very strong, though silent reproof, for my having thus long omitted writing to you. I could not indeed but be sensible how much I had lost by my negligence, when I observed that those points which my brother (from tenderness, perhaps, or haste) had but slightly touched in his letter, were faithfully represented in yours, in all their genuine colours. This was particularly the case, in respect to what you mentioned concerning the consuls elect.* I know, indeed, that they are totally sunk in sloth and debauchery; and if they should not recede from the helm, we are in the utmost danger of being irrecoverably lost. I was myself a witness, during a summer's

* Pansa and Hirtius.

campaign with them in Gaul, that they were guilty of such actions, and within sight too of the enemy's camp, as are almost beyond all belief: and I am well persuaded, unless we should be better supported than we are at present, that the scoundrel Antony will gain them over to his party, by admitting them as associates in his licentious pleasures. The truth of it is, the republic must necessarily either throw herself under the protection of the tribunes, or employ some private hand to defend her cause; for as to these noble consuls of ours, one of them is scarce worthy to preside over Cæsena;* and I would not trust the other with superintending the paltry hovels of Cossutius.†

I hope to be with you towards the latter end of this month. In the mean while, let me repeat what I have often said, that I tenderly love you. My

* “An obscure town in Italy, situated upon the Papis, a river which empties itself into the Adriatic, between Ufens and the Rubicon.”—*Mr Ross*.

† Who this person was is unknown. Pique and prejudice seem to have had a considerable hand in the draught which Quintus has here delineated of the two consuls. That Pansa and Hirtius were infected with the fashionable vices of the age, is altogether probable; but that they wanted either spirit or capacity for action, is by no means true, as will evidently appear in the farther progress of these letters.

impatience to see you is indeed so immoderate, that, if our first meeting were to happen in the midst of the Forum, I should not forbear to transgress the rules of good breeding, and most warmly embrace you in the presence of the whole assembly. Farewell.

LETTER XXXVII.

[A. U. 709.]

CICERO, THE SON,* TO HIS DEAREST TIRO.

AFTER having been in daily and earnest expectation of your couriers, they are at length, to my great satisfaction, arrived, having performed their voyage in forty-six days from the time they left you. The joy I received from my dear father's most affectionate letter, was crowned by the very agreeable one which attended it from yourself. I

* He was at this time pursuing his studies at Athens, under the direction of Cratippus, one of the most celebrated philosophers of the peripatetic sect. If young Cicero had not the talents of his father, his genius, however, seems by no means to have been contemptible; and the present letter, written when he was but nineteen years of age, is a full confutation of those who have charged him with a want of sense, even to a degree of stupidity. See Let. 26 of Book xiv.

can no longer repent, therefore, of having neglected writing to you ; as it has proved a mean of furnishing me with an ample proof of your good nature ; and it is with much pleasure I find that you admit the apology I made for my silence.

That the advantageous reports you have heard of my conduct, were perfectly agreeable, my dearest Tiro, to your wishes, I can by no means doubt ; and it shall be my constant endeavour to confirm and increase the general good opinion which is thus arising in my favour. You may venture, therefore, with great confidence, to be, what you obligingly promise, the herald of my fame. Indeed, I reflect with so much pain and contrition of mind on the errors into which my youth and inexperience have betrayed me, that I not only look upon them with abhorrence, but cannot bear even to hear them mentioned ; and I am well convinced that you take a part in the uneasiness which I suffer from this circumstance. It is no wonder you should be solicitous for the welfare of a person whom both interest and inclination recommend to your good wishes, as I have ever been desirous you should partake of all the advantages that attend me. But if my conduct has formerly given you pain, it shall henceforward, be assured, afford you reason to think of me with double satisfaction.

I live with Cratippus, rather as his son than his

and pupil; not only attend his lectures with pleasure, but am extremely delighted with the peculiar sweetness of his conversation. Accordingly, I spend whole days in his company, and frequently, indeed, the most part of the night, as I entreat him to sup with me as often as his engagements will permit. Since the introduction of this custom, he, every now and then, unexpectedly steals in upon us while we are at table; and, laying aside the severity of the philosopher, enters with great good humour into all the mirth and pleasantry of our conversation. Let me request you, then, to hasten hither as soon as possible, in order to enjoy with us the society of this most agreeable and excellent man. As to Bruttius, I never suffer him to be absent from me a single moment. His company is as entertaining as his conduct is exemplary; and he perfectly well knows how to reconcile mirth and good humour with the serious disquisitions of philosophy. I have taken a house for him near mine, and assist his narrow fortunes as far as my slender finances will admit.*

I have begun to declaim in Greek, under Cassius, as I choose to employ myself in Latin exercises of

* The allowance which Cicero made to his son, during his residence at Athens, was about 700*l.* a year. *Vid. Ad Att. xvi. 1.*

that kind with Bruttius. I live in great familiarity also with those learned and approved friends of Cratippus, whom he brought with him from Mitylene, and pass much of my time likewise with Epicrates, one of the most considerable persons in Athens, together with Leonides, and several others of the same rank and merit. Thus I have given you a general sketch of my life.

As to what you mention concerning Gorgias, notwithstanding that he was of service to me in my oratorical exercises, yet my father's commands were superior to all other considerations; and as he peremptorily wrote to me that I should immediately dismiss him,* I have obeyed his injunctions. I would not suffer myself, indeed, to hesitate a moment, lest my reluctance should raise any suspicions in my father to my disadvantage. Besides, I thought it would ill become me to take upon myself to be a judge of the propriety of his orders. I am extremely obliged to you, however, for the friendly advice you give me in this affair.

I very readily admit the excuse you make on ac-

* This unworthy tutor had encouraged his pupil in a passion for drinking; a vice in which the young Cicero, how sincere soever he might have been in his present resolves, most shamefully signalized himself in his more mature years. *Plut. in vit. Cic. Plin. Hist. Nat. xiv. 22.*

count of your want of leisure, perfectly well knowing how much your time is generally engaged. I am extremely glad to hear that you have bought a farm, and wish you much joy of the purchase. But you must not wonder that I deferred my congratulations to this part of my letter ; for you will remember it was about the same place in yours that you communicated to me the occasion of them. You have now a retreat from all the fatiguing ceremonies of the city, and are become a Roman of the true old rural kind.* I take pleasure in figuring you to myself, in the midst of your country employments, buying your tools of husbandry, dealing out your orders to your bailiff, and carefully treasuring up the fruit-seeds from your desert. To be serious ; I sincerely join with you in regretting, that I could not be of service to you upon this occasion. But be assured, my dear Tiro, I shall not fail to assist you, if ever fortune should put it in my power ; especially as I am sensible you made this purchase with a view to my use as well as your own.

* Alluding, perhaps, to those celebrated Romans in the earlier ages of the republic, who, after having been called forth from their farms to the service of their country, discharged with glory the functions of the state, and then returned to their ploughs.

I am obliged to your care in executing my commission. I desire you would see that I have a writer sent to me who understands Greek, as I lose much time in transcribing my lectures. But, above all, I entreat you to take care of your health, that we may have the pleasure of enjoying together many philosophical conversations. I recommend Antherus to your good offices, and bid you farewell.

LETTER XXXVIII.

[A. U. 709.]

FROM THE SAME TO TIRO.

THE reasons you assign for the intermission of your letters are perfectly just; but I hope that these excuses will not very frequently recur. 'Tis true I receive intelligence of public affairs from particular expresses, as well as from general report; and am continually assured, likewise, of my father's affection by his own hand; yet I always take great pleasure in reading a letter from yourself, be it upon ever so trifling a subject. I hope, therefore, since I am thus earnestly desirous of hearing from you, that you will not, for the future, send me apologies instead of epistles. Farewell.

LETTER XXXIX.

[A. U. 709.]

BITHYNICUS* TO CICERO.

IF we were not mutually attached to each other by many singular good offices, I should remind you of that friendship which formerly subsisted between our parents; but I leave arguments of this kind to those who have neglected to improve their hereditary connections. For myself, I am well satisfied with going no farther for my claim to your services, than to our own personal amity. In confidence of which, let me entreat you, if you believe that none of your favours will be thrown away upon me, that you would, upon all occasions, during my absence,† take my interests under your protection. Farewell.

* See p. 166, note.

† In Sicily, to which province he succeeded as governor at the expiration of his prætorship. *Pigh. Annal.* iii. p. 476.

LETTERS
OF
MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO
TO
SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.

BOOK THIRTEENTH.

LETTER I.

[A. U. 710.]

TO CORNIFICIUS.*

I NEGLECT no opportunity (and, indeed, if I did, I should fail in what you have a full right to. expect from me) not only of celebrating your merit, but of promoting those honours it so justly deserves. But I choose you should be informed of my zealous endeavours for this purpose, by the letters of your family, rather than by my hand. Let me employ it

* See p. 135, note.

in exhorting you to turn all your care and your attention upon the republic. This is an object worthy of your spirit and your talents, as it is agreeable likewise to those hopes which you ought to entertain, of still rising in the dignities of your country. But this is a topic I will enlarge upon another time. In the mean while, I will inform you, that the public affairs are totally in suspense, as the commissioners are not yet returned, whom the senate deputed to Antony, not to sue for peace indeed, but to denounce war, unless he shall immediately pay obedience to the orders with which they are charged.*

* These injunctions were, that Antony should instantly quit the siege of Modena, and desist from all hostilities in Gaul. Cicero strongly opposed the sending this deputation, as it was below the dignity of the senate to enter into any sort of treaty with a man whom they had already, in effect, declared a public enemy, as it would have the appearance of fear; and as the only method of bringing Antony to his duty, would be by an immediate and vigorous prosecution of the war. But these reasons, and others of the same tendency, which Cicero urged with great warmth and eloquence, were over-ruled by the friends of Antony; and it was ordered, that Servius Sulpicius, Lucius Piso, and Lucius Philippus, all of them persons of consular rank, should carry this message from the senate to Antony. *Vid. Philip. v.*

I seized the first occasion that offered of resuming my former spirit, in standing forth as the protector both of the senate and the people; and from the moment I thus declared myself the advocate of liberty, I have not lost the least favourable opportunity for the defence of our common rights. But this likewise is an article for which I choose to refer you to the information of others.

It is with all possible warmth and earnestness that I recommend Titus Pinarius to your favour, as one who, not only from a similitude of taste and studies, but as he is possessed also of every amiable virtue, engages my strongest affection. He comes into your province in order to superintend the affairs of Dionysius, who as he is much, I am sensible, in your esteem, so no man stands higher in mine. Unnecessary, therefore, as I know it to be, to recommend his interests to your protection, yet I cannot forbear doing so; and I doubt not of your giving occasion to the very grateful Pinarius of sending me a letter of acknowledgment for your good offices both to himself and to Dionysius. Farewell.

LETTER II.

[A. U. 710.]

TO DECIMUS BRUTUS, CONSUL ELECT.

POLLA* sends me word, that an opportunity offers of conveying a letter to you; but, at present, I have nothing material to write. All public business, indeed, is entirely suspended, till we shall hear what success the deputies† have met with, from whom we have not yet received any intelligence. I will take this occasion, however, of telling you, that the senate and the people are greatly anxious concerning you, not only as their own preservation depends upon yours, but as they are extremely solicitous that you should acquit yourself with glory. The truth is, you have, in a very remarkable degree, the general affection of the whole republic, which confidently hopes, that as you lately delivered us from one tyrant,‡ so you will now free us from the danger of another.§

* The wife of Decimus Brutus.

† Those mentioned in the preceding letter.

‡ Cæsar.

§ Antony.

We are raising troops * in Rome, and throughout all Italy, if that term may, with any propriety, be employed, where every man eagerly presses to enter into the service; so warmly are the people animated with a passion of recovering their liberties, and such is their abhorrence of the slavery they have thus long sustained!

We now expect soon to receive an account from you, not only of your own operations, but of those likewise of our common friend Hirtius, and of Cæsar, whom I must particularly call *mine*. I hope shortly to see you all three united in the general honour of one common victory. For the rest, I have only to add, (what I had rather you should learn, however, from the letters of your family, and what I hope they are so just as to assure you,) that I neither do, nor ever shall, neglect any opportunity of contributing to the advancement of your public honours. Farewell.

* The senate did not suspend their preparations for war, notwithstanding the deputation they had sent to Antony. On the contrary, Hirtius and Octavius marched into Gaul, at the head of a considerable army, while Pansa remained in Italy, in order to complete the additional troops with which he purposed to join them. *Life of Cic.* iii. 121.

LETTER III.

[A. U. 710.]

TO PLANCUS.*

THE visit I lately received from Furnius † afforded me great satisfaction, not only upon his own account, but more particularly on yours, as he painted you so strongly to my mind, that I could not but fancy, during the whole conversation, that you were actually present. He represented to me the heroism you display in the military affairs of your province; the equity of your civil administration; the prudence which distinguishes every part of your conduct in general; together with what I was by no means, indeed, a stranger to before, the charms of your social and friendly qualities. To this, he did not forget to add likewise, the singular generosity which you have shewn in your behaviour towards himself. Every one of these articles I heard with pleasure; and for the last, I am much obliged to you. ‡

* See p. 213, note.

† He was one of the lieutenants of Plancus.

‡ Furnius had been particularly recommended by Cicero to the favour of Plancus. See Letter 20 of the preceding Book.

The friendship I enjoy with your family, my dear Plancus, commenced somewhat before you were born; and as the affection which I conceived for you begun from your childhood, so, in your more mature years, it was mutually improved into the strictest intimacy. These are considerations which strongly engage me to favour your interests, which I look upon, indeed, as my own. Merit, in conjunction with fortune, have crowned you, even thus early in your life, with the highest distinctions; as the diligent exertion of your superior talents has frustrated the opposition of those many envious antagonists, who vainly endeavoured to obstruct your way. And now, if you will be influenced by the advice of a man who greatly loves you, and who, from a long connection with you, has an equal claim to your regard with the oldest of your friends, you will receive all the future honours of your life from the republic in its best and most constitutional form. There was a season, you know, (for nothing surely could have escaped your discernment,) there was a season* when the world thought you too compliant with the prevailing faction of the times; and I should have thought so too, if I had imagined, that your approbation was to be measured by your submission. But as I knew the sen-

* During Cæsar's usurpation.

timents of your heart, I was persuaded you had prudently considered the extent of your power. Public affairs, however, are at present in a far different situation; and you may now freely act in every point as your judgment shall direct. The time is shortly approaching, when, in consequence of your present designation, you will enter upon the consular office; * and you will enter upon it, my friend, in the prime of your years; with the advantage of possessing the noblest and most commanding eloquence, and at a period too, when there is the utmost scarcity of such illustrious citizens as yourself. Let me conjure you, then, by the immortal gods, most earnestly to pursue those measures that will ensure the highest glory to your character. Now, there is but one possible method of acting towards the republic with this advantage to your reputation, at least there is but one in the present conjuncture, as the commonwealth has for so many years† been disturbed by our intestine commotions.

When I write to you in this strain, it is rather in compliance with the dictates of my affection, than as supposing, that you stand in need either of precepts or admonitions. I am sensible, that you are sufficiently supplied with reflections of this nature

* See p. 215, note.

† The civil wars had now continued about seven years.

from the same source whence I derive them myself: it is time, therefore, to put an end to what I designed, not as an ostentation of my wisdom, but merely as an instance of my friendship. I will only add, that you may depend upon the most zealous of my services upon every occasion wherein I shall imagine your credit and character is concerned. Farewell.

LETTER IV.

[A. U. 710.]

PLANCUS TO CICERO.

I AM exceedingly obliged to you for your letter;* a favour for which I am indebted, I perceive, to the account that Furnius gave of me in the conversation you mention. If I have not written to you sooner, you must impute it to my being informed, that you were set out upon your expedition into Greece; and I was not apprised of your return till a very short time before I learned it from your letter. I mention this, because I should think myself deserving of the highest reproach, if I were intentionally guilty of an omission, even in the slightest office of friendship towards you. The intimacy,

* The preceding epistle.

indeed, which was contracted between you and my father; the early esteem I conceived of your merit; together with those instances of affection I have received from you, supply me with many powerful reasons for not failing in the regards I owe you. Be assured, therefore, my dear Cicero, there is no man whom I am so much disposed to revere as yourself; as, indeed, the great disparity of our ages may well justify me in looking up to you with all the sacred respect of filial veneration. I received your admonitions, therefore, as so many dictates of the most consummate wisdom, at the same time that I considered them as instances likewise of your unfeigned sincerity; for, in this respect, I judge of *your* heart by what I feel in my *own*. If I had any doubt, then, what measures to pursue, or were inclined to adopt others than those you recommend, I should most certainly be determined by your judgment, or restrained by your advice; but, in my present situation, can there possibly be an inducement to draw me from those paths you point out? The truth is, that whatever honourable distinctions I have acquired, either by my own industry, or by the favours of fortune, though far inferior to what your affection represents them, yet they want no other lustre, perhaps, but that of having been attained with the general approbation of the commonwealth; and this even the most inveterate of my enemies acknow-

ledge. Be assured, then, that the whole of my power, my prudence, and my authority, shall ever be exerted in the service of the republic. As I am no stranger to your sentiments, I am well persuaded, that mine would never disagree with yours, if I had the happiness of having you so near me as to be able to consult them. But, though I cannot enjoy this very desirable advantage, yet I trust you will never have occasion to condemn my conduct.

I am extremely impatient to learn what is transacting in the nearer Gaul,* as well as what effect the present month† may produce in regard to affairs at Rome. In the mean time, I am earnestly labouring to prevent the people of this province from pursuing the example of their neighbours, by taking advantage of the public disturbances to throw off their allegiance. And should my endeavours be attended with the success they deserve, I doubt not of being approved, not only by every

* Where Decimus Brutus commanded, who, at this time, was actually besieged in Modena by Mark Antony; a circumstance to which Plancus, it is probable, was no stranger, though he thought proper to affect ignorance.

† January, when the new consuls always entered upon their office. The consuls for the present year were Hirtius and Pansa.

friend of liberty in general, but, what I am most ambitious of, by yourself in particular. Farewell, my dear Cicero, and love me with an equal return of that affection I bear you.

LETTER V.

[A. U. 710.]

TO PLANCUS.

THE duplicate you sent me of your letter* was an instance of your obliging care, lest I should be disappointed of what I so impatiently wished to receive. The contents afforded me a double satisfaction; and I am at a loss to determine, whether the friendship you profess for myself, or the zeal you discover for the republic, rendered it most truly acceptable. To speak my own opinion, indeed, the public affections are altogether noble and sublime; but surely there is something more amiably sweet in those of the private kind. Accordingly, that part of your letter where you remind me of the intimacy in which I lived with your father, of the early disposition you found in yourself to love me, together with other passages to the same friendly purpose, filled my heart with the most exquisite

* The foregoing.

pleasure, as the sentiments you profess with regard to the commonwealth, raised in me the highest satisfaction; and to say truth, I was so much the more pleased with the latter, as they were accompanied, at the same time, with the former.

To repeat what I said in the letter, to which you have returned so obliging an answer, let me not only exhort, but entreat you, my dear Plancus, to exert your utmost powers in the service of the commonwealth. There is nothing that can more contribute to the advancement of your glory; for, amongst all human honours, none most certainly is superior to that of deserving well of one's country. Your great good sense and good nature will suffer me, I know, to speak my sentiments to you with the same freedom, that I have hitherto used. Let me again observe, then, that the honours you have already acquired, though you could not, indeed, have attained to them without merit, yet they have principally been owing to fortune, in conjunction with the particular circumstances of the times. But whatever services you shall perform for the republic, in this very critical conjuncture, will reflect a lustre upon your character, that will derive all its splendour from yourself alone. It is incredible how odious Antony is become to all sorts of people, except those only of the same dishonest views with himself. But the great hopes and expectations of

the republic are fixed upon you and the army you command. Let me conjure you, then, in the most solemn manner, not to lose so important an opportunity of establishing yourself in the esteem and favour of your fellow-citizens, or, in other words, of gathering immortal praise. Believe me, it is with all the tenderness of a father, that I thus admonish you; that I enter into your interests with as much warmth as if they were my own; and that my exhortations proceed from the zeal I bear for the glory of my friend, and the welfare of my country. Adieu.

LETTER VI.

[A. U. 710.]

TO CAIUS CASSIUS.

OH, that you had invited me to that glorious feast you exhibited on the ides of March! Be assured, I would have suffered none of it to have gone off untouched.* Whereas the part you unhappily spared, occasions me, above all others, more trouble than you can well imagine. I must acknowledge, at the same time, that we have two most excellent

* Alluding to the conspirators having spared Antony when they destroyed Cæsar. See p. 228, note.

consuls;* but as to those of consular rank, there is not one of them who does not merit the highest reproach. The senate in general, however, exert themselves with spirit, as the lower order of magistrates distinguish themselves by their singular resolution and zeal. In a word, it is impossible to show a better or more vigorous disposition than appears in the populace, not only of Rome, but throughout all Italy. But Philippus and Piso, on the contrary, whom the senate deputed with peremptory orders to Antony,† have executed their commission in a manner that raises our highest indignation. For notwithstanding that Antony refused to comply with every single article of the senate's injunctions, yet these unworthy deputies had the meanness to charge themselves with bringing back the most insolent demands.‡ This behaviour

* Hirtius and Pansa.

† See p. 260, note.

‡ "The purport of them was, that the senate should assign lands and rewards to all his troops, and confirm all the other grants which he and Dolabella had made in their consulship; that all his decrees from Cæsar's books and papers should be confirmed; that no account should be demanded of the money taken from the temple of Opis, &c. On these terms he offered to give up Cisalpine Gaul, provided that he might have the greater Gaul in exchange for five years, with an army of six legions, to be completed out of the troops of Decimus Brutus."—*Life of Cic.* iii. 123.

of theirs has occasioned all the world to have recourse to my assistance, and I am become extremely popular in a way wherein popularity is seldom acquired, I mean, by supporting a good cause.

I am altogether ignorant in what part of the world you are at present, as well as of what schemes you are either executing, or meditating. A report prevails that you are gone into Syria, but for this we have no certain authority. We can a little more depend upon the accounts we receive of Brutus, as his distance from us is less remote.*

It has been remarked here by men of some pleasantry, and much indignation against Dolabella, that he has shewn himself in too great haste to be your *successor*, as he has most uncivilly set out to take *possession* of your government, when you have enjoyed it scarce a single month.† The case is

* Marcus Brutus, when he found it necessary to leave Italy, withdrew into Macedonia, where he was at this time employed in raising forces in support of the republican cause.

† The province of Syria had been intended by Cæsar for Cassius; but Mark Antony, after the death of Cæsar, had artfully procured it to be allotted to Dolabella. Accordingly, the latter left Rome a short time before the expiration of his consulship the last year, in order to be beforehand with Cassius in getting possession of this government; and it is in allusion to this circumstance, that the humour of the present passage, such as it is, consists.

clear, therefore, say they, that Cassius should by no means give him admittance. But, to be serious; both you and Brutus are mentioned with the highest applause, as it is generally supposed that each of you has drawn together an army far beyond our expectations. I would add more, if I knew, with certainty, the situation of yourself and your affairs; but I hazard this letter merely upon the doubtful credit of common fame. It is with great impatience, therefore, that I wait for better intelligence from your own hand. Farewell.

LETTER VII.

[A. U. 710.]

TO TREBONIUS.*

WOULD to heaven you had invited me to that noble feast which you made on the ides of March! no remnants, most assuredly, should have been left behind.† Whereas the part you unluckily spared gives us so much perplexity, that we find something to regret, even in the godlike service which you and your illustrious associates have lately rendered

* He was at this time in Asia Minor, of which province he was governor. See p. 177, note.

† See p. 272, note.

to the republic. To say the truth, when I reflect that it is owing to the favour of so worthy a man as yourself, that Antony now lives to be our general bane, I am sometimes inclined to be a little angry with you for taking him aside when Cæsar fell ; * as by this mean you have occasioned more trouble to myself in particular, than to all the rest of the whole community. From the very first moment, indeed, that Antony's ignominious departure from Rome † had left the senate uncontrolled in its

* As it had been resolved, in a council of the conspirators, that Antony's life should be spared, they did not choose he should be present when they executed their design upon Cæsar ; probably lest he should attempt to assist his friend, and by that means occasion them to spill more blood than they intended. For this reason, Trebonius held Antony in discourse, at the entrance into the senate, till the rest of the conspirators had finished their work. *Dio. p. 249. Plut. in vit. Brut.*

† Upon the news that two of the four legions from Brundisium (see p. 232, note) had actually declared for Octavius, and posted themselves in the neighbourhood of Rome, Antony left the city with great precipitation ; and, putting himself at the head of his army, marched directly, in order to wrest Cisalpine Gaul out of the hands of Decimus Brutus. Cicero, who was at this time in the country, took the opportunity of Antony's absence to return to Rome ; where he arrived on the 9th of December in the preceding year, about a month or two, it is probable, before he wrote the present letter.—See *Life of Cic. iii. 97.*

deliberations, I resumed the spirit which you and that inflexible patriot, your father, were wont to esteem and applaud. Accordingly, the tribunes of the people having summoned the senate to meet on the 20th of December upon other matters, I seized that opportunity of taking the whole state of the republic into consideration ;* and more by the zeal than the eloquence of my speech, I revived the drooping spirits of that oppressed assembly, and awakened in them all their former vigour. It was owing to the ardour with which I thus contended in the debates of this day, that the people of Rome first conceived a hope of recovering their liberties ; and, to this great point all my thoughts and all my actions have ever since been perpetually directed. Thus important, however, as my occupations are, I would enter into a full detail of our proceedings, if I did not imagine that public transactions of every kind are transmitted to you by other hands. From them, therefore, you will receive a more particular information ; whilst I content myself with giving you a short and general sketch of our present circumstances and situation. I must inform you, then, we have a senate that acts with spirit ; but that as to those of consular dignity, part of them want the

* It was upon this occasion that Cicero spoke his third Philippic.

courage to exert themselves in the manner they ought, and the rest are ill-affected to the republic. The death of Servius * is a great loss to us. Lucius Cæsar, † though he is altogether in the interest of liberty, yet, in tenderness to his nephew, ‡ does not concur in any very vigorous measure. The consuls, § in the mean time, deserve the highest commendations; I must mention Decimus Brutus, likewise, with much applause. The conduct of young Cæsar also is equally laudable; and I persuade myself, that we have reason to hope he will complete the work he has begun. This, at least, is certain, that if he had not been so extremely expeditious in raising the veteran forces, || and if two legions had not deserted to him from Antony's army, there is nothing so cruel or so flagitious which the latter would not have committed. But as these are ar-

* Servius Sulpicius, to whom several letters, in the foregoing part of this collection, are addressed. He was one, and the most considerable of the three consulars whom the senate had lately deputed to Antony; but, very unfortunately for that embassy, he died just as he arrived in Antony's camp.—*Phil.* ix. 1.

† See p. 172, note.

‡ Antony.

§ Hirtius and Pansa.

|| See p. 243, note.

ticles which I suppose you are already apprised of, I only just mention them in order to confirm them.

You shall hear farther from me, whenever I can find a more leisure moment. Farewell.

LETTER VIII.

[A. U. 710.]

TO CAIUS CASSIUS.

It is owing, I imagine, to the difficulty of forwarding any dispatches during the winter season, that we have yet received no certain intelligence of what you are doing, nor even know in what part of the world you are placed. It is universally reported, however, (though more, I believe, from what people wish, than from what they have sufficient grounds to assert,) that you have raised an army, and are actually in Syria; a report which the more easily gains credit, as it appears to be extremely probable.

Our friend Brutus has acquired great honour by his late glorious and unexpected achievements;*

* He had lately sent an account to the senate of his success against Caius, the brother of Mark Antony; having forced him to retire, with a few cohorts, to Apollonia, and secured Macedonia, Illyricum, and Greece, together with

not only as being in themselves extremely desirable to the friends of liberty, but from the wonderful expedition, likewise, with which he performed them. If it be true, therefore, that you are in possession of those provinces, we imagine the republic is very powerfully supported; as that whole tract of country, which extends from the nearest coast of Greece as far as Egypt, is, upon this supposition, in the hands of two the most faithful friends of the commonwealth. Nevertheless, if my judgment does not deceive me, the event of this war depends entirely upon Decimus Brutus; for if he should be able to force his way out of Mutina, (as we have reason to hope,) it will, in all probability, be totally at an end. There are now, indeed, but few troops employed in carrying on that siege; as Antony has sent a large detachment to keep possession of Bononia.* In the mean while, our friend Hirtius is posted at Claterna,† and Cæsar at Forum Cornелиi,‡ each of them at the head of a very considerable army; at the same time that Pansa is raising at Rome a large body of Italian troops---

the several armies in those countries, to the interest of the republic.—*Vid. Philip. x.*

* Bologna.

† Quaderna.

‡ Imola.

But the season of the year has hitherto prevented their entering upon action; and indeed Hirtius appears, by the several letters I have received from him, to be determined to take all his measures with the utmost precaution.

Both the Gauls, excepting only the cities of Bononia, Regium, and Parma, are zealously affected to the republic; as are also your clients on the other side the Po. The senate, likewise, is firm in the cause of liberty; but when I say the senate, I must exclude all of consular rank, except Lucius Cæsar, who, indeed, is faithfully attached to the interest of the commonwealth. The death of Servius Sulpicius has deprived us of a very powerful associate. As for the rest of the consulars, part of them are ill affected to the republic, others want spirit to support its cause, and some there are who look with envy on those patriot citizens whose conduct they see distinguished by the public applause. The populace, however, both in Rome and throughout all Italy, are wonderfully unanimous in the common cause. I have nothing farther, I think, to add, but my wishes, that your heroic virtues may shine out upon us from yon eastern regions in all their enlivening warmth and lustre. Farewell.

LETTER IX.

[A. U. 710.]

TO LUCIUS PAPIRIUS PÆTUS.*

I HAVE received a second letter from you concerning your friend Rufus; and, since you interest yourself thus warmly in his behalf, you might depend upon my utmost assistance, even if he had done me an injury. But I am perfectly sensible, from those letters of his, which you communicated to me, as well as from your own, how much my welfare has been his concern. I cannot, therefore, refuse him my friendly offices, not only in regard to your recommendation, which has all the weight with me it ought, but in compliance also with my own inclinations. I must acknowledge, that it was his and your letters, my dear Pætus, which first put me upon my guard against the designs that were formed to destroy me.† I afterwards, indeed, recei-

* See Vol. II. p. 207, note.

† This probably alludes to some design of the veteran soldiers against Cicero's life; as it appears from a letter to Atticus, written soon after Cæsar's death, that our author had been cautioned not to trust himself in Rome, on account of the danger to which he would be exposed from the insolence of those troops.—*Vid. Ad Att. xv. 5.*

red intelligence from several other hands to the same effect, and particularly of the consultations that were held concerning me both at Aquinium and Fabrateria;* of which meetings, I find you were likewise apprised. One would imagine, that this party had foreseen how much I should embarrass their schemes, by the industry they employed in order to compass my destruction; and, as I had not the least suspicion of their purposes, I might incautiously have fallen into their snares, if it had not been for the admonitions you sent me, in consequence of the information you had received from Rufus. Your friend, therefore, wants no advocate with me for my good offices; and I wish the republic may be in so happy a situation, as to afford me an opportunity of giving him the most substantial proofs of my gratitude.

But, to dismiss this subject; I am sorry you no longer frequent the festive tables of your friends; as you cannot renounce these parties of good cheer without depriving yourself of a very exquisite gratification. And, to tell you the truth, I am sorry likewise upon another account; as I am afraid you will lose the little knowledge you had acquired in

* These towns were situated in Latium, or what is now called the Campagna di Roma. They still subsist under the names of *Aquino* and *Fabratera*.

the art of cookery, and be absolutely at a loss how to set forth a tolerable supper. For as you made no very considerable improvements in this fashionable science, even when you had many curious models for your imitation, what strange awkward things must your entertainments prove, now that you enjoy no longer the same advantages? When I informed Spurinna* of this wonderful revolution in the system of your affairs, he shook his prophetic head, and declared, that it portended some terrible disaster to the commonwealth; unless, said he, this extraordinary phenomenon be occasioned by the present cold weather, and your friend should return with the zephyrs to his accustomed train of life. But, without a joke, my dear Pætus, I would advise you to spend your time in the cheerful society of a set of worthy and agreeable friends; as there is nothing, in my estimation, that more effectually contributes to the happiness of human life. When I say this, I do not mean with respect to the sensual gratifications of the palate, but with regard to that pleasing relaxation of the mind which is best produced by the freedom of social converse, and which is always most agreeable at the hour of

* A celebrated diviner, who is said to have forewarned Cæsar of the ides of March. *Suet. in Jul. 81.*

meals. For this reason, the Latin language is much happier, I think, than the Greek, in the term it employs to express assemblies of this sort. In the latter, they are called by a word which signifies *compotations*; whereas in ours, they are more emphatically styled *convivial* meetings; intimating, that it is in a communication of this nature that life is most truly enjoyed. You see I am endeavouring to bring philosophy to my assistance, in recalling you to the tables of your friends; and indeed I prescribe them as the best recipe for the re-establishment of your health.

Do not imagine, my friend, from my writing in this strain of pleasantry, that I have renounced my cares for the republic. Be assured, on the contrary, that it is the sole and unremitting business of my life to secure to my fellow-citizens the full possession of their liberties, to which end my admonitions, my labours, and the utmost powers of my mind, are, upon all occasions, unweariedly employed. In a word, it is my firm persuasion, that if I should die a martyr to these patriot endeavours, I shall finish my days in the most glorious manner. Again and again I bid you farewell.

LETTER X.

[A. U. 710.]

CAIUS CASSIUS, PROCONSUL, TO CICERO.

I AM to inform you of my arrival in Syria, where I have joined the generals Lucius Murcus and Quintus Crispus.* These brave and worthy citizens, having been made acquainted with what has lately passed in Rome, immediately resigned their armies to my command, and, with great zeal and spirit, co-operate with me in the service of the republic. Aulus Allienus has delivered to me the four legions which he brought from Egypt; † the legion which was commanded by Cæcilius Bassus ‡ has likewise joined me. And now it is unnecessary, I am persuaded, that I should exhort you to defend the interest both of myself and of the commonwealth to

* “ They had been prætors, A. U. 708. Cæsar sent the former into Syria, and the latter into Bithynia, with proconsular authority.”—*Dio*. xlvii. *Appian*. iii. *Mr Ross*.

† “ Allienus was lieutenant to Dolabella, by whom he was sent into Egypt, in order to conduct those legions into Syria. He accordingly executed his commission; but, instead of delivering these troops to Dolabella, he went over with them to Cassius.—*Quartier*.

‡ See p. 140, note.

the utmost of your abilities; but it may animate your zeal and your hopes, to be assured, that a powerful army is not wanting to support the senate and its friends in the cause of liberty. For the rest, I refer you to Lucius Carteius, whom I have directed to confer with you upon my affairs. Farewell.

From my camp at Tarichea, * March the 7th.

* Situated upon the lake of Genesaret, in Galilee.

END OF VOLUME FOURTH.

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